



Class

15

Accession

974.4 M 382.3

34957

NOT TO BE TAKEN FROM THE LIBRARY

Form 37 3M 12.1.08

COLLECTIONS

OF THE

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

Committee of Publication.

CHARLES C. SMITH.

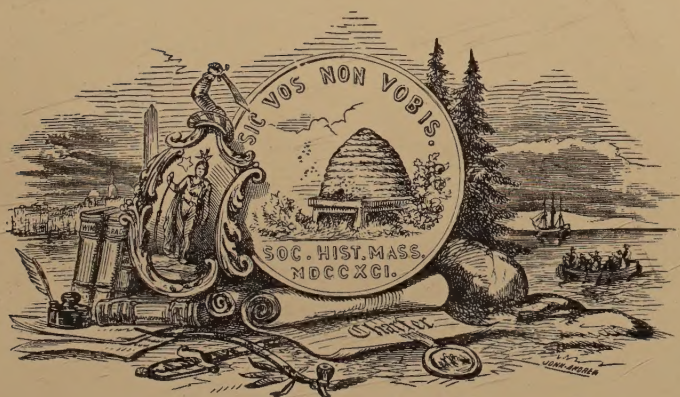
WINSLOW WARREN.

CHARLES K. BOLTON.

COLLECTIONS
OF THE
MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

SEVENTH SERIES.—VOL. V.

Published at the Charge of the Appleton Fund.



BOSTON:
PUBLISHED BY THE SOCIETY.

MDCCCV.

University Press:
JOHN WILSON AND SON, CAMBRIDGE.

Printed and Published by
JOHN WILSON AND SON, CAMBRIDGE.

+q 974.4 M382:3 ⁶⁵

34957

CONTENTS.

	PAGE
OFFICERS OF THE SOCIETY ELECTED APRIL 13, 1905 . . .	vii
RESIDENT MEMBERS	viii
HONORARY AND CORRESPONDING MEMBERS	x
MEMBERS DECEASED	xii
PREFACE	xiii
THE HEATH PAPERS	1
INDEX	409

OFFICERS
OF THE
MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY,

ELECTED APRIL 13, 1905.

President.

CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS, LL.D. LINCOLN.

Vice-Presidents.

SAMUEL A. GREEN, LL.D. BOSTON.

JAMES F. RHODES, LL.D. BOSTON.

Recording Secretary.

EDWARD J. YOUNG, D.D. WALTHAM.

Corresponding Secretary.

HENRY W. HAYNES, A.M. BOSTON.

Treasurer.

CHARLES C. SMITH, A.M. BOSTON.

Librarian.

SAMUEL A. GREEN, LL.D. BOSTON.

Cabinet-Keeper.

GRENVILLE H. NORCROSS, LL.B. BOSTON.

Members at Large of the Council.

JAMES F. HUNNEWELL, A.M. BOSTON.

JAMES DE NORMANDIE, D.D. ROXBURY.

THOMAS W. HIGGINSON, LL.D. CAMBRIDGE.

ALBERT B. HART, LL.D. CAMBRIDGE.

THOMAS L. LIVERMORE, A.M. JAMAICA PLAIN.

Additional Member of the Council.

ROGER B. MERRIMAN, PH.D. CAMBRIDGE.

RESIDENT MEMBERS,

AT THE DATE OF THE PRINTING OF THIS BOOK, IN THE ORDER OF
THEIR ELECTION.

1860. Hon. Samuel Abbott Green, LL.D. Charles Eliot Norton, D.C.L. 1861. Rev. Edward Everett Hale, D.D. 1865. Josiah Phillips Quincy, A.M. 1866. Henry Gardner Denny, A.M. 1867. Charles Card Smith, A.M. 1871. Abner Cheney Goodell, A.M. Edward Doubleday Harris, Esq. 1873. Winslow Warren, LL.B. Charles William Eliot, LL.D. 1875. Charles Francis Adams, LL.D. William Phineas Upham, A.B. 1876. Hon. William Everett, LL.D. Hon. Henry Cabot Lodge, LL.D. 1877. John Torrey Morse, Jr., A.B. 1878. Gamaliel Bradford, A.B. Rev. Edward James Young, D.D.	1879. Henry Williamson Haynes, A.M. 1880. Thomas Wentworth Higginson, LL.D. 1881. Rev. Henry Fitch Jenks, A.M. Rev. Edmund Farwell Slafter, D.D. Hon. Stephen Salisbury, A.M. Rev. Alexander McKenzie, D.D. 1882. Arthur Lord, A.B. Frederick Ward Putnam, A.M. James McKellar Bugbee, Esq. 1884. Hon. John Elliot Sanford, LL.D. Edward Channing, Ph.D. 1886. William Watson Goodwin, D.C.L. Rev. Alexander Viets Griswold Allen, D.D. 1887. Solomon Lincoln, A.M. Edwin Pliny Seaver, A.M. 1889. Albert Bushnell Hart, LL.D. Thornton Kirkland Lothrop, LL.B. 1890. Henry Fitz-Gilbert Waters, A.M. Abbott Lawrence Lowell, LL.B. 1891. Hon. Oliver Wendell Holmes, LL.D. Henry Pickering Walcott, M.D.
--	---

1892.

George Spring Merriam, A.M.

1893.

Hon. Charles Russell Codman, LL.B.

Barrett Wendell, A.B.

James Ford Rhodes, LL.D.

1894.

Hon. Edward Francis Johnson, LL.B.

Rt. Rev. William Lawrence, D.D.

William Roscoe Thayer, A.M.

1895.

Rev. Morton Dexter, A.M.

Hon. Thomas Jefferson Coolidge,
LL.D.

Hon. William Wallace Crago, LL.D.

1896.

Hon. Francis Cabot Lowell, A.B.

Granville Stanley Hall, LL.D.

Alexander Agassiz, LL.D.

Hon. James Madison Barker, LL.D.

Col. Theodore Ayrault Dodge.

1897.

Thomas Corwin Mendenhall, LL.D.

Rev. Leverett Wilson Spring, D.D.

Col. William Roscoe Livermore.

Hon. Richard Olney, LL.D.

Lucien Carr, A.M.

1898.

Rev. George Angier Gordon, D.D.

John Chipman Gray, LL.D.

Rev. James De Normandie, D.D.

Andrew McFarland Davis, A.M.

1899.

Archibald Cary Coolidge, Ph.D.

John Noble, LL.D.

Charles Pickering Bowditch, A.M.

Rev. Edward Henry Hall, D.D.

1900.

James Frothingham Hunnewell,
A.M.Hon. Daniel Henry Chamberlain,
LL.D.

Melville Madison Bigelow, LL.D.

1901.

Thomas Leonard Livermore, A.M.

Nathaniel Paine, A.M.

Charles Gross, Ph.D.

John Osborne Sumner, A.B.

Arthur Theodore Lyman, A.M.

Samuel Lothrop Thorndike, A.M.

1902.

Edward Henry Strobel, A.B.

Henry Lee Higginson, LL.D.

Brooks Adams, A.B.

Grenville Howland Norcross, LL.B.

Edward Hooker Gilbert, A.B.

John Carver Palfrey, A.M.

1903.

Franklin Benjamin Sanborn, A.B.

Charles Knowles Bolton, A.B.

Samuel Savage Shaw, LL.B.

Ephraim Emerton, Ph.D.

Waldo Lincoln, A.B.

Frederic Jesup Stimson, LL.B.

Edward Stanwood, Litt.D.

Moorfield Storey, A.M.

1904.

Thomas Minns, Esq.

Roger Bigelow Merriman, Ph.D.

Charles Henry Dalton, Esq.

Charles Homer Haskins, Ph.D.

1905.

Hon. John Davis Long, LL.D.

Don Gleason Hill, A.M.

Theodore Clarke Smith, Ph.D.

Henry Greenleaf Pearson, A.B.

Bliss Perry, L.H.D.

HONORARY MEMBERS.

1871. David Masson, LL.D. 1887. Hon. Carl Schurz, LL.D. 1896. Rt. Hon. James Bryce, D.C.L. 1899. Rt. Hon. Sir George Otto Trevelyan, Bart., D.C.L.	1901. Pasquale Villari. 1902. Henry Charles Lea, LL.D. 1904. Adolf Harnack. Rt. Hon. John Morley, LL.D. Goldwin Smith, D.C.L. 1905. Ernest Lavisse.
--	---

CORRESPONDING MEMBERS.

1875. Hon. John Bigelow, LL.D. Hubert Howe Bancroft, A.M. 1877. Gustave Vapereau. 1878. John Austin Stevens, A.B. Joseph Florimond Loubat, LL.D. Charles Henry Hart, LL.B. 1879. Franklin Bowditch Dexter, Litt.D. John Marshall Brown, A.M. Hon. Andrew Dickson White, LL.D.	1880. Sir James McPherson Le Moine. Henry Adams, LL.D. 1881. Rev. Henry Martyn Baird, D.D. 1883. Rev. Charles Richmond Weld, LL.D. 1886. Hon. William Ashmead Courtenay, LL.D. 1887. John Andrew Doyle, M.A.
---	---

1891.

Alexander Brown, D.C.L.

1894.

Capt. Alfred Thayer Mahan, D.C.L.

1896.

Hon. James Burrill Angell, LL.D.

William Babcock Weeden, A.M.

Richard Garnett, LL.D.

1897.

Rev. George Park Fisher, D.D.

Woodrow Wilson, LL.D.

Hon. Joseph Hodges Choate, D.C.L.

1898.

Frederic William Maitland, LL.D.

John Franklin Jameson, LL.D.

1899.

Rev. William Cunningham, LL.D.

1900.

Hon. Simeon Eben Baldwin, LL.D.

John Bassett Moore, LL.D.

Hon. John Hay, LL.D.

1901.

Daniel Coit Gilman, LL.D.

Frederic Harrison, M.A.

Frederic Bancroft, LL.D.

Charles Harding Firth, LL.D.

William James Ashley, M.A.

1902.

Edward Gaylord Bourne, Ph.D.

John Bach McMaster, Litt.D.

Albert Venn Dicey, LL.D.

Reuben Gold Thwaites, LL.D.

John Christopher Schwab, Ph.D.

Worthington Chauncey Ford, Esq.

1903.

Rev. Arthur Blake Ellis, LL.B.

Auguste Moireau.

Hon. Horace Davis, LL.D.

1904.

Sidney Lee, Litt.D.

Frederick Jackson Turner, Ph.D.

Sir Spencer Walpole, K.C.B.

1905.

William Archibald Dunning, Ph.D.

James Schouler, LL.D.

George Parker Winship, A.M.

Gabriel Hanotaux.

MEMBERS DECEASED.

Members who have died, or of whose death information has been received, since the last volume of Collections was issued, October 20, 1904, arranged in the order of their election, and with date of death.

Resident.

Robert Charles Winthrop, Jr., A.M. June 5, 1905.
Rev. Samuel Edward Herrick, D.D. Dec. 4, 1904.
Hon. John Summerfield Brayton, LL.D. Oct. 30, 1904.

[The Resident Membership of Rev. Arthur Latham Perry, LL.D., was terminated by resignation Dec. 8, 1904, and that of James Schouler, LL.D., was terminated Dec. 27, 1904, by his removal from Massachusetts.]

Corresponding.

Abbé Henry Raymond Casgrain, Litt. D. Feb. 11, 1904.

P R E F A C E.

THIS volume comprises a selection from the Heath Papers beginning with January, 1780, and coming down to the close of General Heath's active military life in the summer of 1783. At this point the volume would naturally have ended; but it has been thought desirable to add four other letters written at a much later period, both for their own interest and for the light which they throw on the character of the writers. In the Appendix will be found extracts from General Heath's Orderly Book, giving the history of the Court-Martial for the trial of General McDougall, with the finding of the Court and Washington's action in consequence of it.

In spite of the enormous mass of papers preserved by General Heath it is certain that many documents, some of them of considerable importance, had disappeared before the collection came into the possession of Mr. Lawrence, as stated in the preface to the second part of the Heath Papers. A striking illustration of this occurs in connection with the controversy, in 1778, between General Heath and General Phillips of the Convention troops. In General Heath's Memoirs and in our previous volume are numerous letters bearing on the subject, and it was supposed by the Committee that in one or the other place would be found everything of interest or impor-

tance relating to it; but in the "Report on American Manuscripts in the Royal Institution of Great Britain," issued in London at about the same time as our volume, are a number of letters printed or calendared from copies sent over to England, of which neither originals nor copies now exist in the Heath Papers. They contain no new facts, but they should not be overlooked in any thorough study of the episode of the Convention troops; and it is not easy to see how they could have been lost, except through carelessness after the death of General Heath.

It ought to be repeated that, with only a few exceptions, General Heath's own letters are printed from his rough draughts evidently written in great haste, and that he ought not to be held responsible for all their obvious errors in spelling. Many of these errors were probably corrected in the fair copy.

For the Committee,

CHARLES C. SMITH.

Boston, June 15, 1905.

THE HEATH PAPERS.

PART III.

THE HEATH PAPERS.

REPRESENTATION FROM THE OFFICERS AT WEST POINT.*

SIR, — Your being personally present in this sever season which we know stroungly impresses your mind with a scenc of their suffering circumstances, therefor having no dought of your humanity to relieve them, and justis to hear their complaints when founded on justis and reason, gives us, the commanding officers of the regiments in the 3rd and 4th brigades, to lay the complaints of the soldiers to the officers of the scantity of their present allowance of their provision under the heavey fatigue this garrison is now subject to, which is more sever than at any other time, in halling provisions, forage and material for the barracks over and above the supply of wood for the garrison and ourselves; and the beef being thin and not any vegetables at this season to be procured as in time pass. Therfor request your Honor would hear our desires to have their allowance of provision increased to a sufficiancey for their present subsistance and support, and also take of any bad impressions that may hinder our

* This representation is without date, but it was no doubt written in the early part of January, and was enclosed in General Paterson's letter of Jan. 8, 1780. — Eds.

further reënlisting, and will greatly encourage to persevere in the public service.

We are with esteem, dear Sir, y^r very humble servants.

MICH^L JACKSON, *Col^o 8 Massach^{ts} Reg^t.*

GAM^L BRADFORD, *Col^o.*

THOMAS MARSHALL, *Col^o.*

SETH DREW, *Cap^t Comd.*

BENJ^A WARREN, *Cap^t Comm^{dt}.*

MOSES KNAP, *Maj^r.*

J. WESSON, *Colo.*

Brig^{dr} Gen^l PATTERSON.

JOHN PATERSON * TO WILLIAM HEATH.

WEST POINT, JAN^y 8th, 1780.

DEAR GENERAL, — I take the liberty to inclose a representation by the field officers of this division to me this morning ; am sensible you will do everything in your power to relieve them. Their distress is really very great. A number are frozen lying in the field and getting their wood. If this severe season continues I am afraid we shall perish. It will be impossible to finish our barracks unless it moderates ; neither masons or carpenters can do any business. I have this day ordered one hundred and fifty to break a path to Gen^l Glover's brigade, and another to mark a road on the ice to New Windsor, where we have nine hundred bushells of pease for this post which must be transported by hand.

I am, with great respect, your most ob^t, humble servant.

JN^o PATERSON.

Hon^{ble} Maj^r Gen^l HEATH.

Indorsed : From Gen^l Paterson, enclosing a representation from the commanding officers at West Point of scantyness of allowance, Jan^y 8th, 1780.

* For notice of General Paterson, see 7 Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. iv. p. 330 n. — Eds.

WILLIAM SHEPARD * TO WILLIAM HEATH.

DEAR GENERAL, — I received your favours yesterday by the express of the 4th and 5th; shall strictly observe the contents as far as lies in my power. Your observations on the account of the enemy's being supplied with cattel and provitions from the Tories and Cow Boys is strictly true, and I am very sure their has been a considerable of a trade carried on between the inhabitants and others with the enemy at New York for months past. Sir, you may be assur'd I shall do all in my power to comply with your orders and instructions whilst I am honord with this command. Sir, I have been much embarrast since I have been at this post on the account of the severity of the season and the unaccountabel depth of snow and the roads being intirely blocked up, and not any provitions at the post when I arriv^d, nor within near twenty miles, except two days meat. I imediately sent to Horseneck to procure meat and rum. Mr Ray, the officer I sent, after five days unaccountable fatigue, arriv^d with fourteen head of cattle, but could not procure any rum or flower, unless he went to Danbury, and it being impossible to get to Danbury with a horse, and much more so with a carrage, I have given the matter up at present. Their has not an officer or soldier had anything to drink this seven days except could water and cold weather.

As the cattle did not arive so soon as I expected from Horseneck I sent Cap^t Hunt with fifty men to Bedford to procure provitions and to impress teames to bring it on. He procurd two days pork, about eight hundred

* Col., afterward Gen., William Shepard was born Dec. 1, 1737, and died at Westfield, Mass., Nov. 11, 1817. After a service of six years in the French war, he entered the American army on the breaking out of the war with the mother country, and served with distinction to its close. He also took an active part in the suppression of Shays's rebellion; and from 1797 to 1803 was a member of Congress. See Drake's Dictionary of American Biography, p. 821. — Eds.

weight of flower, and two good teams, and set out and came one mile, but found the snow so unaccountably drifted that he was obliged to turn his teams back, and the men took part of the pork on their backs, and brought it to camp. The flower still remains their, which I am now sending a detachment to bring it on, after the troops which are now ready to march towards the White Plains. The detachment are now two days destitute of flower. I am informd that there is a considerable quantity of grain below the Plains and at the Purchase, which I shall endeavour to collect. In case I fail of this intention the troops must live on meat alone or starve.

In case the detachment was supplid with racketts I should be nun concernd but what I could supply them with provitions without much difficulty, but the snow is so unaccountably drifted that we cannot have any assistance by teams or horses. In case we brake paths or shovel through the drifts, it will not be one hour before they are filld up again. The inhabitants bring all their grain to the mills on their back, and hall their wood on hand sleds.

I have sent two parties down to the Plains, one of which has returnd. The officer informs me that the snow is near as deep there as here, and quite as much drifted. There's near one third part of the detachment have either froze their feet or ears or fingers. The party that was sent down to supply the places of the deserters almost every man got frost bitten before they arrivd here.

I am, dear General, with great esteem,

Your devot^d hum^{le} serv^t.

W^m SHEPARD.

NORTH CASTLE, Jan^y 9th, 1780.

To General HEATH.

WILLIAM HEATH TO WILLIAM SHEPARD.

HEAD QUARTERS, ROBINSON'S HOUSE, Jan^y 10th, 1780.

DEAR SIR, — Your favor of yesterday is just handed to me. I am sorry that you have had so many embarrassments to encounter during your command. The snow has been uncommonly deep, and every part of the army have experienced the severity of the season. The roads here as well as with you are almost impassible.

Enclosed is a letter pointing out in some measure how you are to obtain provisions when it can be transported, and Major Campbell has orders to furnish teams when called upon; but the time of your being relieved is so nigh that you will be scarcely able to put it in execution. You will, however, communicate it to the officer who relieves you. I wish the weather had been favorable, as I am confident you would have taken some usefull steps below. As it is, you can only make your men comfortable, and protect the country.

If ever you should have occasion to impress teams, let it be done by the nearest justice. An act of the State empowers and directs them on an application to do it, and they chearfully do their duty. Let the purchasing commissary engage the wheat if any is obtained from the inhabitants, and do not suffer any provisions to be taken by compulsion. I pity the unfortunate men who have been frost-bitten. I am exercising my every endeavor to make the troops in every respect as comfortable as is in my power.

I am, with great regard, dear Sir,

Your obedient serv^t.

W. HEATH.

Col^o SHEPPARD.

WILLIAM HEATH TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.

ROBINSON'S HOUSE, Jan^y 10th, 1780.

DEAR GENERAL, — The last evening the north redoubt was discovered to be on fire at the southwest corner on the out side, about two feet below the top of the parapet and within the face or outside timbers. The fire appeared to be makeing its way towards the magazine, which is in that end of the bomb proof and where at that time were ten bbls. of powder, which at first much alarmed the garrison, but the powder and about 100 bbls. of provisions were immediately and safely removed. As soon as I received information of the fire I sent to West Point (being the nearest post from which assistance could be afforded) and desired Gen^l Patterson instantly to send over 100 men with axes, shovels, &c. This was done with great expedition and the fire after some time happily extinguished without any great damage to the works, altho appearances for some time were very serious. How the fire began in that place, and whether by accident or design, is yet a mistery. I shall order the most critical enquiry into the matter. The two redoubts are garrisoned by Cap^t Walker's company of artillery and a serjeant's guard of infantry in each. Cap^t Walker appears to be a most judicious, active, and vigilant officer.

I have this day surveyed the damage and find that it will be very easily repaired, having been principally occasioned by starting a few timbers at the corner to come at the fire, which will be placed down again.

Since it is my duty to make this report, I take the liberty to make another which I did not intend to trouble your Excellency with (at least not untill I reported the conclusion of the whole) viz^t, that on the morning of the first of January, sixty odd soldiers of

the garrison of West Point, who had entertained a most absurd and groundless opinion that their time of service expired the first instant, altho engaged for three years and enlisted at differant periods since January, 1777, slung their packs and went off with arms and accoutrements compleat. As soon as it was known Cap^t Bailey, with one hundred men, was ordered to pursue and bring them back dead or alive; they proceeded up the west side of the river, not being able to pass at West Point either in boats or on the ice. Not knowing, as they had so much the start of Cap^t Bailey, but they might reach Fishkill before him and pass there, I sent off an express to the commanding officer of the reg^t at that place, to be in readiness to stop them. Fortunately Cap^t Bailey overtook them at New Windsor and without any opposition escorted them safely back to West Point on Monday the 3rd instant, where a number of the principals are closely confined, and the rest set at liberty. A court martial is now siting for the tryal of them, and probably some will meet the punishment they deserve. It appears to have been a plan for those belonging to the Massachusetts brigades to have rendezvoused at Fishkill, and from thence proceed to Danbury, and after being joyn'd by those of Gen^l Poor's brigade of like sentiments to march home. The early measures taken disconcerted their plan; several serjeants went off with and led the men. A serjeant in Col^o Bigelow's reg^t who had expressed his sentiments a day or two before rather too freely was confined, tryed, and sentenced to receive one hundred lashes and be reduced to the ranks. This was executed at the head of the brigade at roll call the evening of the 31st ult^o, and I believe with good effect, for not a single man went off from the quarters of the brigade, altho' near sixty belonging to Gen^l Glover's brigade went off from the lines where they had not heard what had taken place in the brigade. Parties were imme-

diately sent after these, but whether they are overtaken or were stoped by Gen^l Poor or the light horse is not yet known. Should they escape our parties, as soon as I am ascertained of it, shall write the General Assembly, requesting that they may be immediately apprehended, and sent back in the most exemplary manner. We are now perfectly quiet and not a lisp is heard of going home before terms of service are fully expired. I am sorry that the contents of this letter are such as tend to give your Excellency pain; they have given me much, but I would have born it alone, did I not think it my duty to report them.

I have the honor to be, with the greatest respect,

Your Excellency's most obedient serv^t.

W. HEATH.

His Excellency General WASHINGTON.

WILLIAM HEATH TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.*

HIGHLANDS, Jan^y 18th, 1780.

DEAR GENERAL,—The enclos'd I detained a day or two since out of a number of letters, submitted to me for inspection, intended for New York by a flag. The letter is undoubtedly from Mr Bostwick, the commissary of forage at Fish-kill, and its contents on the face of the letter inocent, but on the other side seems to be a mistery which I cannot develop. I think the writing on the other side was wrote by the same hand with a better pen, which seems to be pretty apparant in the word Bostwick in particular, but it may have been wrote by another. The two leaves of the letter were remarkably close pressed together, and had the appearance of having been in a press and my opening of the leaves was the nearest accident. I have shewn it only to the gentlemen

* Washington's answer is printed in 5 Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. iv. pp. 151, 152.—Eds.

of my own family and to Col^o Hay in confidence. It indeed looks very suspicious, and may contain intelligence, ruff tallow may be designed for troops at one post and hide those at another, the quarters the strength of a brigade, &c, or it may be an accot^t of beef already supply'd, &c. I am at loss what steps to take; my first intention was to have communicated the matter to Governor Clinton, on further consideration I have thought it duty to lay it before your Excellency, and take your advice and direction.

There is a Mr David Bush at Horseneck, a gentleman of family and fortune but a reputed Tory, but I cannot tell whether he be the person alluded to or not.

I have the honor to be, with the greatest respect,

Your Excellency's most obedient serv^t

W. HEATH.

His Excellency G. W.

WILLIAM HEATH TO GEORGE CLINTON.*

HEAD QUARTERS, HIGHLANDS, Jan^y 20th, 1780.

SIR, — I was some time since honored with your favors of the 30th Dec^r, 1st and 7th instant, which I have not had an opportunity before to acknowledge. Please, Sir, to accept my thanks for your particular attention, not only to the public good, but releif of my family in granting a permit for the transportation of a few barrels of flour out of this State. The snow is uncommonly deep and weather severe. Horses and travellers have pass^d King's Ferry on the ice for some days past.

A detachment of the main army under the command of Major-General Lord Stirling made a descent on Staten Island the last Saturday night. The enemy immediately retired to their works. Our troops were on the island

* For a notice of Governor Clinton, see 7 Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. ii. p. 157 n. — Eds.

when I last heard from that quarter, but whether they have taken possession of the works or left the island is not yet known here. It is said the situation of the harbour of New York is at present such as to put it out of the power of the enemy to succor their troops on Staten Island. I have lately had several deserters from the enemy. They all agree that the army and inhabitants at New York are in great distress for want of fuel, are cutting up the wharves, &c. They are also exceedingly anxious for the arrival of a fleet of victuallers which has been for some time expected, and without which they are apprehensive of being short of provisions. The officers on our lines inform me that there are large quantities of grain and stocks of cattle in the possession of the inhabitants of the lower parts of West Chester county, and a constant trade and intercourse kept up with the enemy. This in the last instance is confirmed by all the deserters. I have enjoined the greatest vigilance on the officers, if possible to prevent this trade. Your Excellency is the judge whether it be expedient to bring off any part of the grain or cattle below the lines. Policy at this time dictates that we accelerate the wants and distresses of the enemy as much as possible, but in instances where the persons or property of the subjects of the State are involved I shall be wholly dictated by your Excellency, and I am assured that no measures that can conduce to the public good will be either unthought of or untried.

I have the honor to be, with the greatest respect,

Your Excellency's most obedient serv^t.

W. HEATH.

His Excellency Governor CLINTON.

P. S. Col^o Sheppard, who has been on the lines during the late severe weather, and this moment returnd, informs me that he was obliged while on command to take from Phillips's lower mills a quantity of flour and meal as specified on the enclosed mem^o. Col^o Sheppard gave

positive orders that no grain belonging to the inhabitants should be touched, and if any such was taken away it was through mistake. Col^o Sheppard was under the necessity before he came away to desire a Lieu^t Vanvoost and M^r Boris who live below Yonkers, to assess the grain and forage below the lines agreeable to the law of this State. In this way some relief has and will be obtained for the troops on the lines. As I have never seen the act, I wish if your Excellency does not approve of the persons above mentioned assessing the grain and forage that others in that quarter may be appointed. Col^o Sheppard further informs me that it is reported that M^r Phillips's miller is employed to purchase up grain, &c., which he is undoubtedly daily doing.

W. H.

WILLIAM HEATH TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.

HIGHLANDS, Jan^y 21st, 1780.

DEAR GENERAL, — The bearer, Lieut. Williams of the first Massachusetts regiment, waits on your Excellency to receive and forward to this place such monies as you may think proper to deliver him for the purpose of paying the continental bounty to the re-inlisted soldiers agreeable to your Excellency's letter of the 31st ulto.

Two deserters belonging to the 3rd battalion of British artillery came here the day before yesterday; one of them left the city the 15th inst., and the other left Fort Washington the same day. They both relate the distressed state of the troops and inhabitants for the want of fuel, and that they are cutting up the wharves, that they are very anxious for the arrival of a fleet of victuallers, which have been for some time expected; and without their arrival the garrison will be short of provisions. The one from Fort Washington corrects the intelligence brought out by the Hessian deserters respect-

ing the grenadiers and light infantry which I mentioned in a former letter. The 1st and 2nd regiments of guards with their own grenadiers and light infantry (instead of the *corps* of grenadiers and light infantry) are at Fort Washington, with 2 reg^{ts} of Germans and part of Col^o Wurmb's jaegers.

For the recovery of my health, much impaired by my late indisposition, and which is not yet eradicated, and on account of my domestick affairs, I wish for a short leave of absence to visit my family during the winter if possible. If a relaxation from business and change of air should not have the happy effect which I hope for and expect, I may be reduced to the disagreeable necessity of asking leave to retire from the service. If your Excellency should be pleased to grant this indulgence, I wish to have it the beginning of the month of Feb^r, and hope by that time Major General Howe will be at liberty to return to this place.

I have the honor to be, with the greatest respect,

Your Excellency's most obedient serv^t.

W. HEATH.

His Excellency General WASHINGTON.

P. S. Major Bauman is importuning leave to try some experiments in gunnery, which he saies will be of public utility, and that he has heretofore proposed them to your Excellency. I request to be informed whether your Excellency thinks it proper to have the experiments made, and at this time which the Major represents as peculiarly advantageous on account of the river being frozen.

I am just informed that Major Allen of Col^o Putnam's reg^t, who some time since went home on furlough, was lately killed by an accidental shot at North Hampton, on a party of pleasure hunting deer.

W. H.

WILLIAM HEATH TO GEORGE CLINTON.

HEAD QUARTERS, HIGHLANDS, Jan^y 25th, 1780.

SIR, — It is with reluctance that I interrupt your Excellency in those important deliberations in which you are engaged, but at a time when the very continuance of the army at these important posts becomes a question, I know you will excuse me.

The situation of this army at this instant is truly alarming, and without speedy releif most serious and disagreeable consequences may be expected. The garrison of West Point have during the winter been at a scanty allowance of bread, and often without any at all; this has been the case for these four or five days past. The garrison have been and still are obliged to be on almost constant fatigue, draging materials for their barracks and all their fuel on hand sledges more than a mile. Some of the troops are yet in tents and during the winter hitherto have been obliged to encounter hunger and cold, performing by hand that business which ought to be done by teams. This they have endured and performed with a patience scarcely to be conceived. But your Excellency well knows the disposition of soldiers, as well as of mankind in general, and that altho means may be devised or exercised to keep them patient or quiet for a time, yet a crisis may come if a remedy to their real wants is not afforded; and in such cases it is impossible to exercise those coersive measures proper on other occasions. We have been long flattering the troops that releif would soon come, and during the winter the ration of flour has been reduced to $\frac{3}{4}$ ^{lb} p^r day. With every exertion in my power, and the removal of part of the wheat from those mills that had not a supply of water to some which had, a scanty daily supply has not been obtained, altho the transportation with sleighs has of late been

very advantageous; and if such straits and difficulties subsist now, what is to be expect should a thaw of the snow suddenly take place which will render the roads impassible for some days at least? Insted of raising magazines at this post to enable the garrison to sustain a seige, which is indispensibly necessary, we can scarcely obtain our daily bread.

I am informed by the D. Q. M. G. that forage cannot be procured for the teams absolutely necessary to be employed for the transportation of provisions, &c; whether this proceeds from a real scarcity of forage or some other cause I do not pretend to say. Such, however, is our situation, should the troops be reduced to such necessities as to disperse them the most important posts in the United States, and the only barrier for the security of this State, will be left open to the enemy. Unless the troops are cantoned among the inhabitants nearest the posts, or parties under the command of officers sent out to take provisions with some shew of regularity, to prevent the soldiers (driven by the necessitys of hunger which are irresistible) takeing where ever they can find it to sustain life,—all these in every view are to me disagreeable in the extreme; my mind recoils at them even in idea, but what else without releif can be expected?

After having made this representation to which duty constrains me, and it is not exaggerated, I entreat of your Excellency, and of the Hon^{ble} the Legislature, immediate releif if it be in your power; and without which (from some quarter) I cannot be answerable for consequences that may happen. Whether there is a real scarcity, or whether the inhabitants have it in their power to spare and yet withhold, or whether there be want of exertion in the purchasers, or some other impediment, is not within my knowledge. Some enquiry seems absolutely necessary. The gentlemen who compose the Hon. the Legislature, as they are from every part of the State,

are the most competent judges and under their inspection the Hon^{ble} the Congress have been pleased to place it.

My principal hope and dependence under these embarrassments rests on the confidence I have in the humanity and patriotism of your Excellency and the Hon^{ble} the Legislature, which on every occasion have been most conspicuous.

I have the honor to be, with the greatest respect,

Your Excellency's most obedient serv^t.

W. HEATH, *Major Gen^l*.

His Excellency Governor CLINTON.

WILLIAM HEATH TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.

HIGHLANDS, Jan^y 26th, 1780.

DEAR GENERAL, — From the unwearied measures that I have been pursuing ever since your Excellency's departure from West Point, and a removal of part of the wheat from those mills which had not water to such as have, I was in hopes that we should not again experience the want of bread, but I am disapointed. Insted of raising those magazines at these posts enjoyned in your Excellency's instructions, we cannot obtain a daily supply of bread. The troops now are, and for several days have been without bread. They bear this hardship, as they have done often before, with a patience scarcely to be conceived. But a crisis may come, and it may not [be] far distant, when it will be impossible to exercise those coersive measures which on other occasions are proper and necessary. I have this day represented our alarming situation to his Excellency Governor Clinton and the Legislature of the State, and without reserve acquainted them what may be the consequences if supplies cannot be obtained, viz^t; either the troops must disperse and leave these important posts defenceless, be quartered on

the inhabitants nearest the posts, or parties under the command of officers, in order to preserve some show of regularity, be sent out to take provisions to prevent the soldiers, driven by the necessities of hunger (which are irresistible) taking wherever they can find it to sustain life. What relief this will produce I cannot tell. I am fully assured of every assistance and exertion in the power of his Excellency the Governor, and nothing in my power shall be wanting; but unless supplies can be obtained I cannot be answerable for the consequences. I suspect the root of the evil is in the depreciation of the currency, or rather the inability of the purchasing commissaries to discharge the debts long since contracted by them, and the people withhold supplies until the old debts are paid. Certain it is, a great uneasiness prevails on account of the debts long since contracted not being discharged, and the purchasing agents are so embarrassed that their credit is exhausted. If the state of the magazines with the main army is such as to admit of any relief of flour I would most earnestly request it.

I have the honor to be, with the greatest respect,

Your Excellency's most obedient serv^t.

W. HEATH.

His Excellency General WASHINGTON.

UDNY HAY TO WILLIAM HEATH.

FISH KILL, 26th Jan., 1780.

DEAR GENERAL, — From every circumstance I am more and more alarmed about the situation of the army. Major Hale goes off early to-morrow morning with despatches from me to General Greene; I have wrote fully on the different subjects of the department, given my opinion freely with respect to the consequences that must arise from our total want of money, and our inability thereby

to perform the contracts we have entered into with the farmers; amongst other matters I have freely confessed my own incapacity and want of talents sufficient to remedy the misfortunes that at present impend over us, and beg'd leave to resign by the first of March or by an earlier period if found convenient. This does not arise from any disgust, either at men or measures, though I am convinced part of the latter ought to be rectify'd, but from a real diffidence of my own abilities. My successor may rely on every aid I can possibly give him.

Permitt me to give my opinion that the only method that possibly can be taken to gett the inhabitants sufficiently roused, and made sensible of the imminent danger that threatens them from' the army's disbanding for want of flour, will be by ordering a brigade to be quarterd amongst them. I wish this could be possibly done with propriety in the interior part of this country. You may rely on it, Sir, that without an uncommon interposition of Providence there will be at least one month this spring that two horses will not be able to bring one barrell of flour forty miles with sufficient forage to carry them backwards and forwards on the road. Under these circumstances, and without money to pay those who would at such a time turn out, give me leave to ask how this army will be supplyd, unless their magazines are in some measure full before that time arrives?

I am, with much respect, dear General,

Your most obed. se^r.

UDNY HAY.

Gen^l HEATH.

Please send your dispatches, if you have any, to Major Campbell's by 8 in the morning at furthest.

WILLIAM HEATH TO JOHN PATERSON.

HEAD QUARTERS, HIGHLANDS, Jan^y 27th, 1780.

DEAR SIR, — The repeated instances of fire of late is matter of serious consideration, and great care and pains must be taken to investigate if possible the real cause of it; if by accident we must increase precaution, if by design, the perpetrators are probably in the bowels of the garrison, and uncommon vigilance becomes necessary; the guards should be increased, and patrols very frequent. It is surprising to me that the fire the last night was not discovered by the sentinels, two or three of whom were planted very near the place; these I trust you have had properly secured for examination.

We must guard against every the least relaxation in duty; if it appears in any instances to be stealing upon us, it must be immediately eradicated.

I am, with great regard, dear Sir,

Your obed^t serv^t.

Gen^l PATTERSON.

W. HEATH.

JOHN PATERSON TO WILLIAM HEATH.

WEST POINT, Jan^y 27th, 1780.

DEAR GENERAL, — I have this moment received your favour of equal date. I can with truth assure you that nothing has or shall be wanting in me to guard against accidents of every kind, more particularly fire, as that is attended with the most dangerous consequences in this garrison.

A court of inquiry is now sitting to investigate the unhappy catrastophe which happened last evening. The centinals who were placed near the barrack when it took fire were immediately confined in order for tryal; others were placed in their stead, and a number of additional

ones planted on the ramparts and other places the most convenient to observe and give information of any attempts which might be made against the works.

The guards are increased, and patroles ordered.

I am, with the greatest esteem, dear General,

Your hb^l ser^t.

JOHN PATERSON.

WILLIAM HEATH TO UDNY HAY.

HEAD QUARTERS, HIGHLANDS, Jan^y 27th, 1780.

DEAR SIR, — Your favor of the 26th was handed to me the last evening. I have written to Head Quarters by Major Hale. Altho the embarrassments on this department are many and great, I am sorry that you even admit an idea of quitting the service ; we must persevere and surmount all difficulties. I hope the steps we have taken will produce some releif. When you call here I will shew you my letters to the Governor and Legislature, &c, to whom I have written most explicitly.

A fire broke out the last night between eleven and twelve o'clock at West Point, in the building occupied by the quarter master of the garrison and Col^o Marshall. It began in the inside (but how is yet unknown) and had got to such a heigth before it burst out that the whole was instantly in flames. Many effects both public and private are burnt ; several persons but narrowly escaped with their lives.

I am, with great regard, dear Sir,

Your obedient serv^t.

W. HEATH.

Col^o HAY.

WILLIAM HEATH TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.*

HIGHLANDS, Jan^y 27th, 1780.

DEAR GENERAL, — The last night between eleven and twelve o'clock, a fire broke out at West Point in the building occupied by Col^o Marshall and M^r Whiting, the D. Q. M. of the garrison. The fire began in the inside, and as is supposed in the wooden mantle peice of the chimney, had got to such a head that the first discovery was the whole bursting out in flames. Several persons who were asleep in the house had scarcely time to save themselves by escapeing in their shirts. The public, as well as individuals, have suffered considerable loss. The former in a number of tents, the q. master's books and papers, and indeed the whole of the stores of that department deposited in that place, return of which as soon as can be ascertained will be transmitted to the Q. M. G. Col^o Marshall has lost part of his baggage, M^r Whiting a considerable part of his, Cap^t Sewall, the muster master, and M^r Francis their baggage, commissions, swords, and all their cloths except what they had on. Those gentlemen are in great distress, and I apprehend they intend to address your Excellency for releif. It was with extreme difficulty that the adjacent building was saved, that side of which next the fire is scorched to a coal. Had this building taken fire the magazine would have been in great danger, if not lost, as the garrison would have quitted the fort from apprehensions of instant destruction. I submit to your Excellency whether it is not surprising that the important works of Fort Clinton and Fort Putnam are both destitute of proper magazines for the ammunition when so great a quantity is deposited in them. The powder in the former is lodged in one of the bomb proofs ; this bomb prooff on the out side, next

* Washington's answer is printed in 5 Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. iv. pp. 154, 155. — Eds.

the aera of the fort, is faced with fascines, and the wooden building above mentioned within a small distance of it. Should this take fire when the wind is fresh at north or northwest, it would be almost a miricle if the magazine escaped. This building I have determined to have removed immediately, and afterwards I think the powder will not be so secured in the bomb proofs as I could wish.

Your Excellency will find enclosed a petition of Lieut. Peabody of the 7th Massachusetts reg^t for leave to resign his commission and the certificates required by your Excellency's order.

A Cap^t Flowers and Lieut^t Snow, sent on command to Springfield the last fall to receive and forward on the levies, are applying for the reimbursement of their expences while on that command; they inform me that the other officers who were sent on that command have had their accounts settled by orders from your Excellency. As I do not know what allowance has been made to others I request direction with respect to these.

Col^o Mead at Horseneck has written me that the enemy chagrin'd at his late enterprise at Morrissania are meditateing one on him; he wishes as a support to have a detachment of continental troops stationed near the Purchase, which will form a chain with our lines, but as the North River is now frozen down to New York, and troops may more expeditiously pass up on the ice then by the roads, I have cautioned the troops on the lines to keep a sharp look out on that side for the security of the post at King's Ferry; and our present numbers and circumstances will not admit of a further detachment. I do not know what instructions or orders your Excellency may have given to General Poor at Danbury, but if you should think proper to order a detachment of about one hundred men from that brigade, to take post near the Purchase it would compleat our chain from the North

River to the Sound, and I think not only circumscribe the enemy to narrow limits, but effectually break up that infamous practise of trade and traffick with them, which has in a most disgracefull manner for a long time been prevailing. Provisions or goods are almost daily taken going in to or coming out from the enemy.

Having had the pleasure this day to hear by some officers from the main army that a good supply of flour, &c, is on hand and that the ration is increased to one lb. pr. day, besides an allowance of Indian meal, and the troops here being yet kept to the reduced ration, and often not able to obtain even that, I again request some relief if it can be granted. If there were any magazines within our reach I would not request this. But evry one of them in this quarter were exhausted before the army went to winter quarters, and since that time the season has been such as to prevent the mills grinding a sufficiency to releive even our daily wants.

I have the honor to be, with the greatest respect,

Your Excellency's most obedient serv^t.

W. HEATH.

His Excellency General WASHINGTON.

UDNY HAY TO WILLIAM HEATH.

FISH KILL, 28th Jan., 1780.

DEAR GENERAL,— An uncommon run of business yesterday and to-day has prevented my answering your sundry favours, which I now sitt down to do, and for transmitting of which I have taken the liberty of detaining your express.

The prisoner was sent to Poughkeepsee with a carefull hand who had the charge of him and a letter I sent addressed to Doctor Tappen, the Governor's brother in law, and one of the Commissioners of Conspiracy.

I have sent to enquire about the vegetables you mention; proper steps shall be taken for bringing them down as soon as I can learn the quantity, and the places where they are.

Major Weeks has gone off this day to the Legislature and carries your letter to his Excellency, to whom I have taken the liberty of writing likewise. The Major will use his influence with the members he is best acquainted with, and will in person give a true description of our situation to the whole. I still think our surest remedy would be in sending a brigade up to the new Partners and its vicinity, the propriety of this scheme, however, I am not a full judge of; I mention it on the principle of its being better to risque a little than lose the whole.

Your letters to the purchasing commissaries with two others I added to them were sent on by different expresses. I have likewise sent a q^r master up to the new Partners, with strong letters of recommendation to the Justices, and general instruction to gett down the flour and wheat as soon as possible, I hope he will be of some service.

Some of the millers have refused to lett the wheat go out of their mills; they pretend no other reason than that they have a right to the profit of grinding from the wheat having been once deposited there. I have given positive orders to take it by force, and if opposed to acquaint me by express. This may be, and indeed I believe is, contrary to the law of the land, but I am clear is justifiable by the more binding laws of reason and necessity. I can scarce think any man will have the effrontery to sue me.

I had a return made me of 1,400 bushells of wheat and 20 barrells of flour about thirty miles from this, which was sent for, but it unluckily turned out only 424 bushells of wheat and 14 barrells of flour. I shall send to the commissary from whom I had the return to know from

whence the deficiency arises. Unless you have already, it is necessary for me to request that you will order a court of inquiry to sit and inquire by what means the q^r master's store at West Point gott fire, and as nearly as possible determine the quantity of shoes lost thereby.

I am much oblinded to you, Sir, by your wish that I may not think of quitting the department; the countenance I have ever mett with from my superiours attach me both to them and the service by the strongest ties, added to which the nature of the office suits my turn of temper, no present nor view of future embarrassments would therefore ever make me think of quitting while I found a possibility of my services being of the least benefit; but Congress has so often expressed their diffidence of the officers of the department in general, and has not only from a want of cash, but by sundry resolves, so cramp'd us in the execution of our duty that I find it become by far too burthensome for me. For example permitt me to give you an extract of one I rec^d yesterday.

"That all express riders in the pay of the United States be discharged, and that no established express riders be in future maintaind at the public expence." It becomes my duty to ask you whether I shall comply with this resolve, and yett I am ashamed to do it, as it would appear like an insult on your understanding to suppose a possibility of complying therewith, unless the resolve admitts of an interpretation which no person I have yett showed it to has putt thereon.

I shall do myself the honour of waiting on you tomorrow if I possibly can, and am with the greatest respect, dear General,

Your most obed^t ser^t.

UDNY HAY.

General HEATH.

WILLIAM HEATH TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.

HIGHLANDS, Feby 2nd, 1780.

DEAR GENERAL, — I have been honored with yours of the 27th ult^o, to which I shall pay due attention. M^r Read, the D^y Paymaster, has at length arrived.

I thank your Excellency for leave of relaxation from business for the recovery of my health. The many perplexing matters with which I have been surrounded, occasioned by the distressing wants of the troops, have been much against me under the impaired state of my health, and altho a regard to my health and to my being of any future service to the public or my family strongly decide in favor of a relaxation from business, yet under the present situation of the army I reluct exceedingly at the thought of leaving it, which will be with much regret.

I have been unremiting in my endeavours to obtain a supply of provisions for the troops here; my prospects have been at times various. M^r Fitch by his last letter, of the 25th ulto., observes, — “I think it is possible that the troops will not be out of bread again soon,” but expresses apprehensions that our magazines will not be properly replenished. This is my principal concern. The enclosed copy of a letter from M^r Colt is also expressive of it, yet I am certain the provisions of the country are not exhausted; our want springs from another cause. His Excellency the Governor and the Legislature of this State have the situation of the army under consideration. I hope we shall feel the salutary effects of it.

I am unhappy in being under the necessity of acquainting your Excellency that the bomb proof in the north redoubt was discovered to be on fire the last night between ten and eleven o'clock. Every assistance was immediately afforded, but the fire being at the top of

the bomb proof in the joints between the timbers, where it pursues the caulking, (on which I apprehend it at first kindled by a spark from the pipe of the stove) cannot be come at, and the earth of which there is a large body on the top of the bomb proof, and frozen as hard as earth can be, will prevent for some time the top being uncovered. The troops work with great alacrity, and every method is taken to deaden the fire; the most efficacious we find to be the barrel of a musket with the britch pin taken out, with a sponge on the end of the ramrod. With this water is forced into the seams and joynts which cannot otherwise be come at. This is a striking proof with how much ease the fire might be extinguished if we had a water engine, the leather hose of which might be directed to any part of the work on fire. Is it not indispensibly necessary that one or more should be kept at West Point? I have been up to the redoubt twice to-day; have returned since dark. The troops work with unremitting assiduity, have opened a part of the top of the bomb proof. Lt Col^o Vose with a strong detachment will work all night, unless the fire is extinguished sooner.

3rd. The fire was happily extinguished this morning about two o'clock; no lives were lost, but several men hurt. The damage done is the throwing off the earth and taking up the top timbers of the north end of the east side of the bomb proof. The under side of the timbers are considerably burnt; the bunks and lining of the bomb proof were taken out. The bomb proof at the west end is not injured, nor are the sides or end of the other part or any of the posts. These repeated fires may seem extraordinary; they are so, but I assure your Excellency that no endeavours in the principal officer have been wanting to guard against them. I take the liberty to enclose copy of an order I issued the 10th of Jan^{ry}, as I have done many others since that time on the same subject. Indeed, the situa-

tion and construction of our wooden buildings and redoubts are such that it is a wonder fires have not been more frequent. The barracks were built in winter and in a hurry. The chimneys have wooden mantle peices, and the chimnies badly built, and those places wherein stoves are fixed soon become as dry as tinder. In this cold and blowing season, a spark catching against a building or work, or blown into a crevice, is almost certain to be fanned to a flame. Lt. Col^o Brooks has just informed me that the garrison in hard blowing weather are almost afraid to close their eyes lest fire should break out.

Enclosed is the report of the court of enquiry appointed to investigate the cause of the fire breaking out at West Point on the night of [blank]. I have desired General Patterson to appoint another court of enquiry, to ascertain what articles of public property were lost in the late fire. And enclosed is also a letter handed to me yesterday by a Mr William Spencer of Fort Pitt, West Augusta, who was a sarjeant in Col^o Wood's reg^t and wounded in the assault on Stoney Point, by the enclosed is since promoted to an ensigncy. Mr Spencer is yet in the hospital at Fishkill; probably your Excellency has some knowledge of the matter. I never saw him before, but he appears deserving, tells me he has nither friends, cloths, or money. The officers of the Virginia Line being gone, he is now dress'd in his serg^t coat which is much worn. If any relief can be afforded him, either of money or cloths, I will gladly acquaint him with it.

This evening I have been honored with a letter from Governor Clinton, and take the liberty to enclose copy of a paragraph.

I have the honor to be, with the greatest respect,

Your Excellency's most obedient serv^t.

W. HEATH.

His Excellency General WASHINGTON.

WILLIAM HEATH TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.

HIGHLANDS, Feb^y 10th, 1780.

DEAR GENERAL, — In the following I shall give your Excellency a state of facts relative to the late capture of Lieut. Col^o Thompson and part of his detachment on the lines of this post on the 3rd instant.

Lt. Col^o Thompson was at that time at Younge's near the White Plains. His detachment consisted of five companies, Cap^t Watson of the 3rd reg^t with his company was at Younges's house with the Lieut. Col^o. Cap^t Roberts of the 15th reg^t and Cap^t Stoddard of the 1st reg^t were on his right, their greatest distance about two miles; on his left were Cap^t Lieu^t Farley of the 9th reg^t and Cap^t Cooper of the 14th reg^t, their extreme distance rather greater than the companies on the right. Pickets were advanced from each. On the morning of the 3rd inst., about 9 o'clock, the Lt. Colonel was informed that a body of the enemy's horse were advancing, and at that time about 2½ miles distant; apprehending the enemy to be horse only he determin'd to remain where he was, and sent to the several companies to joyn him. Soon after this the enemy attacked his picket, a serj^t and 8 men, who fired on the horse which checked them, on which the picket attempted to joyn the body, but were overtaken by the horse, one or two of them wounded and the whole taken prisoners. Not long after the enemy's horse appeared in sight of the house. The Lt. Col^o had been joyned by Cap^t Roberts's company, who formed on his right; the enemy's horse halted at a distance, and discharged their rifles. Soon after the infantry appeared, advancing to the front and right flank of our troops, who were now joyned by Cap^t Lt. Farley's company on the left, Cap^t Stoddard and Cap^t Cooper coming up, one on the right, the other on the left. Our troops pre-

served their order, and did not fire untill some time after the enemy began, when they received orders and fired. The enemy immediately scattered, availing themselves of trees and of the ground, of which it must be acknowledged they very judiciously took the advantage, springing from one tree and place to another and constantly gaining ground. Their fire being directed both against the front and flank of our troops, and a number being killed and wounded, they broke, some retreating up the road, others into the house, from the doors and windows of which they fired on the enemy. At this time Cap^t Stoddard and Cap^t Cooper came up. The former gave the enemy two or three fires, but the distance being great probably did little or no execution. The horse at this instant were very active and overtook several of our men who were making their escape. It is said our troops discovered great bravery and fought well for about fifteen minutes, when the L^t Col^o was compelled to surrender. We had 14 men killed on the spot, including Cap^t Roberts, and 17 wounded, three of which are since dead. Lt. Col^o Thompson of Marshall's, Cap^t Watson of Greaton's, Cap^t Lieut. Farley of Wesson's, Lt. Burley of Tupper's, Lt. Maynard of Greaton's, Ensign Fowler of Nixon's and Ensign Bradley of Sheppard's, with 90 non-commissioned officers and soldiers, were taken prisoners, nine of whom who were wounded were left by the enemy at a house some miles down the road. The enemy sit fire to Mr Young's house, and soon retired, leaving two dead, and carrying off their wounded, among whom was a cap^t of grenadiers, wounded in the hip, and a lieut. of the infantry in the thigh. Our troops immediately after went on to the ground and buried the dead, &c. The enemy's force is said to have consisted of about 60 Jager horse and 40 of refugees, and between 4 and 500 infantry, detachments from different corps, including a part or the whole of the grenadiers and light

infantry companies of the guards. Col^o Emmerick was out as a volunteer on foot with his rifle and was very active. Colonel Norton of the guards commanded the whole, and Colonel Delancy was with the refugee horse.

11th. By two deserters who left Fort Washington a few days since I am informed that the enemy had at that place about 150 sleighs when they came away; the sleighs were employed in hauling wood. I am just now informed by Lt Col^o Badlam, who is on the advanced post, that a body of three hundred of the enemy's horse (probably part of these militia) and the 7th British reg^t came the last Monday from Long Island to West Chester on the ice, where they now are. Whether their taking post at West Chester is with offensive or defensive views, is uncertain; probably both. I have written Brigadier General Poor to hold his brigade in the most perfect readiness for action, have patrols on the ice of Hudson's River against Peekskill, and from the guard at Swimons, down towards Fort Montgomery. Every precaution is in exercise, and I trust the enemy will be disappointed should they attempt to surprise us.

I have the honor to be, with the greatest respect,

Your Excellency's most obedient serv^t.

W. HEATH.

His Excellency General WASHINGTON.

WILLIAM HEATH TO JEREMIAH POWELL.*

HEAD QUARTERS, HIGHLANDS, Febr^y 12th, 1780.

SIR, — I am fully sensible that the Hon^{ble} the Council may justly have expected to have heard from me much oftener than they have done during the winter, but the absence of a great number of officers of all ranks, the particular wants and necessities of the troops, occa-

* For a notice of Jeremiah Powell, see 7 Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. ii. p. 126 n. — Eds.

sioned by the uncommon severity of the season, have taken up almost every moment of my time day and night, and will I am confident make a sufficient apology for any omission in our correspondence.

The troops have been at a very scanty allowance of bread during the winter, and often times for many days without any at all. This has been principally occasioned by the uncommon dry fall and winter which has stopped a great part of the mills. Fortunately for the troops I have been able to obtain a large quantity of peas, which have been a great relief to them; but notwithstanding all their tryals and sufferings they exhibit a patience, health, good temper and spirit not to be paralleled. Every attention is undoubtedly due to them; many of them are yet suffering for the want of clothing, and I am sorry to be under the necessity of observing that their wants and necessities are considerably encreased and are continued by the want of a sub or State clothier. If there be one, in justice to the suffering troops, I must intreat that he may be enjoined to be constantly with or near the army.

An action happened on the 3rd instant on the lines of this post between the advance corps under the command of L^t Col^o Thompson of the 10th reg^t, and a body of the enemy under the command of Colonel Norton of the guards. Our loss was 14 killed on the spot, including Cap^t Roberts of the 15th reg^t (a brave and good officer) and 17 wounded, three of whom are since dead, and 96 prisoners. L^t Col^o Thompson (of Marshall's), Cap^t Watson, of Greaton's, Cap^t Lieut^t Farley, of Wesson's, Lieut^s Burley, of Tupper's, and Maynard, of Greaton's, Ensigns Fowler, of Nixon's, and Bradley, of Sheppard's, are among the later. The enemy acknowledge to have had five killed and 18 wounded.

The promotions which have from time to time been made by the Hon. the General Assembly, and sent on to

me, I have published in orders, and have sent on the certificates to the Hon. the Continental Board of War.

I hope before the opening of the next campaign to have the honor of taking you by the hand in Boston; indeed the present state of my health is such as requires a change of air and some relaxation.

I have the honor to be, with the greatest respect,

Your Honor's most obedient serv^t.

W. HEATH.

Hon. JERE^H POWELL, Esquire.

WILLIAM HEATH TO ROBERT HOWE.*

HEAD QUARTERS, HIGHLANDS, Feb^y 18th, 1780.

SIR, — The present state of my health is such as has obliged me to obtain from his Excellency General Washington, a leave of absence and relaxation from business for a short time. I shall accordingly sit out for New England on Monday next, when the command of the posts and troops on the North River will devolve on you. I herewith enclose you a copy of my instructions from the Commander in Chief, and am assured of your particular attention to every part of them.

The troops have been exceedingly straitned for bread during the winter, but from the unremitting endeavour which I have made in every quarter a supply for a time I think is ensured. A quantity of flour is coming on from Easton and Sussex County. I have also repre-

* Robert Howe was born in Brunswick County, N. C., in 1732, and died there Nov. 12, 1785. On the breaking out of the Revolution he joined the American army, and rendered distinguished service at the South. In October, 1777, he was commissioned a Major-General, and was subsequently attached to the army of Washington. In 1780, during the absence of General Heath, he had the command at West Point; and in 1781 he was at the head of the troops who quelled the mutiny of the Pennsylvania and New Jersey regiments. In 1783 he performed a similar duty in quelling the mutiny of the soldiers who threatened Congress. See Appleton's Cyclopædia of American Biography, vol. iii. pp. 282, 283. — Eds.

sented the situation of the army to his Excellency Governor Clinton and the Legislature of the State of New York, and have just received intimations from the Governor that the matter is under the consideration of a committee, and that no exertions in the power of the Legislature would be wanting. You will perceive the necessity of procuring if possible ample supplies against an emergency. As the quantity of salted meat in the magazines is not great, fresh beef must be procured and issued for some time yet to come, and the salt provisions reserved.

Many of the works are yet unfinished; the completing of them must be attended to the moment the season will admit of it,—in particular the north redoubt and the works at King's Ferry. The former has been much injured by repeated fires; the works at the latter were stoped by the severe season. I need not observe of how much importance it is that these works be repaired and compleated before the enemy can be in motion, as one of them in particular is of easy access by water. The sudden severity of the season prevented the effectually securing of many of the boats; much attention must be had to them before the ice breaks up, or they will be swept away. I have mentioned this to Col^o Hay, but you will please to bear it in mind; you will be happy in the assistance and exertions of that officer, a better support you cannot wish for or desire.

M^r Read, the D. P. M. G., is at New Windsor with the military chest. He has in his hands a sum of money for the recruiting service. Upon the application of the commanding officers of reg^t or corps for money for that purpose, they are to exhibit a list of the soldiers' names respectively reinlisted by them, on which a warrant on the paymaster is drawn. The troops have been lately paid up to the first of Nov^r. If a relaxation from business and change of air should have that effect which I hope for I shall return to this post as early as possible.

If it should not the time of my return is uncertain.
 Wishing you health and an easy and agreeable command,
 I am, with great regard, Sir,
 Your most obedient serv^t.

Major Gen^l Howe.

W. HEATH, *M. G.*

WILLIAM HEATH TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.*

ROXBURY, March 2nd, 1780.

DEAR GENERAL,—I arrived here the day before yesterday after a very tedious journey through excessive bad roads.

I find there is a great number of discharged soldiers in this State, who have been at home for some weeks, that are inclined to enlist again, but as many of them came home almost naked, and remain so still, a principal inducement to their enlisting is the expectation of being immediately clothed. This is represented to me by Col^o Crane and others. I request to be informed whether the recruits can be clothed here by an order from the clothier general through the sub or State clothier. If they can, the recruiting service may be very successfull, but if they cannot be clothed, it will be impossible to march them on in their present naked condition.

I have the honor to be, with the greatest respect,

Your Excellency's most obedient serv^t.

W. HEATH.

His Excellency General WASHINGTON.

WILLIAM HEATH TO THE COUNCIL OF MASSACHUSETTS.

ROXBURY, March 3rd, 1780.

GENTLEMEN,—I arrived at this place the 29th ulto. after a very fatiguing journey through excessive bad

* Washington's answer is printed in 5 Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. iv. pp. 156, 157. — Eds.

roads. A relaxation from business and a change of air became absolutely necessary for the recovery of my health. On my first arrival being informed that many soldiers who have been indulged with furloughs during the winter (some of which are already expired) were still in Boston, I determined to order the latter on immediately to joyn their respective corps, which are daily growing weaker by the discharges of those whose times of service expire, and which makes the return of these indispensable ; but upon takeing measures for the purpose I find the soldiers have had intimations or promises from some in authority, either civil or military or both, that they shall receive the notes for the depreciation of their pay before they leave Boston, and upon which they depend. This prevents my ordering them on in the manner the service requires, which is without the least delay, and at the same time may be materially injured if the soldiers are forced away under present circumstances. To the wisdom of the Hon. Council I therefore beg leave to submit the necessity of the most speedy measures being taken to have these soldiers forwarded, and if possible without any grounds of uneasiness and discontent.

From various reports that I have received from the officers the present is a most favorable opportunity for the recruiting your battalions ; permit me to express a wish that it may be improved. There is now great numbers of discharged soldiers in and about Boston, and indeed throughout the State, whom no persuasions could induce to reinlist before they came home. They have visited their friends, they are now out of business, are destitute of money and clothing, the times difficult, and the demand for labourers not yet come. Some employment they must seek for a support. They discover an inclination to reingage in the army, a proper attention at this moment will redound much to the honor and interest of the State, their quota of troops may be soon

raised, and upon more advantageous terms than at any other period; for if these men are not now engaged, necessity will soon lead them to enter on board ships of war, or the approaching season for cultivating the fields will lead the farmers to engage many of them earlier than usual. The consequence will be the battalions incomplete, and if recourse is had to drafts from the militia for their compleation, your Honors are fully sensible with how much expense and inconvenience to towns and to individuals it is attended, and commonly at a season that proves injurious to the husbandry of the country, and has been most sensibly felt both by the citizens and army in a scarcity of provisions encreased by such untimely drafts.

The reinlistment of your soldiers in the army was at first very successfull. It has not been equally so since, altho some are daily inlisting. I have the honor to enclose the last return that I received of the men inlisted to serve during the war in the 15 battalions. I wish the number was greater, but when it is considered that the officers of the whole Line of the State and several corps belonging to the State are not included in the return, and numbers have doubtless inlisted since, it must afford a sensible satisfaction that it is so large.

I am informed by the officers that there is at present some impediments to the recruiting service which is principally the want of, or some difficulty in obtaining, bounty money and clothing for the recruits. The former can be remedied only by the Hon. the Council or General Assembly; the latter I have since my arrival here represented to his Excellency General Washington, and solicited that measures may be adopted for clothing the recruits before they march, if it can be done consistantly with the present system of clothing the army. I hope the answer will be favorable, or perhaps your Honors have power to direct in this particular also.

I flatter myself the time is not far distant when the toilsome business of war, in which your Honors have had so large a share, will terminate in the independence, peace, and happiness of our country.

With every sentiment of respect and esteem, I have the honor to be,

Your Honors' most obedient serv^t.

W. HEATH.

Hon. the Council.

WILLIAM HEATH TO MICHAEL JACKSON.*

ROXBURY, March 15th, 1780.

DEAR SIR, — Your favor of the 29th ult^o and postscript of the 4th instant came to hand this day. The report you made of the mistakes in the commissions of the officers of your regiment, I carefully transmitted to his Excellency General Washington before I left the Highlands, observed to him the reasons of the mistakes having happened, and requested his direction in what way the matter should be taken up; hope it will be done in such manner as to establish peace and harmony in the regiment.

I am sorry to hear that any of the officers are out of humour, or that you have any disponding moments; you must as I have often been forced to do act the phylosopher, as well as the soldier. I hope to be with you by and by when I will administer every comfort and assistance in my power. Cap^t Keith is promoted to the Majority in your regiment; I have given him his warrant. Present my compliments to M^{rs} Jackson, your family, and all friends.

I am with great regard, dear Sir, your obedient serv^t.

Col^o MICH^L JACKSON.

W. HEATH.

* Michael Jackson was born in Newton Dec. 18, 1734, and died there April 10, 1801. He was present at the battle of Bunker Hill, and served with credit throughout the war. See Appleton's Cyclopædia of American Biography, vol. iii. p. 390; Mass. Soldiers and Sailors in the Revolution, vol. viii. p. 681. — Eds.

P. S. I am sorry to hear that there is any clamour on the east side of the river against a favorite Col^o, as you say he is called. Whether by this it is meant a favorite of mine or not I cannot say, but be assured if I have any favorites they must be those who carefully attend their duty in every place and in every station. Such are my favorites; while those that neglect it, be their names, stations, or abodes what or where they may, will never have either my favor or patronage, and as the character which is delineated by the most forced construction cannot apply to any favorite of mine, it must mean some other.

W. H.

HENRY KNOX* TO WILLIAM HEATH.

MORRIS TOWN, 17th March, 1780.

MY DEAR SIR, — I received your favor of the 14th ultimo. From long experience I am fully sensible of the merits of Mr Barber,† and have by the desire of the Board of War offer'd to him the place of *principal field commissary of military stores*, a post of considerable emoluments and great importance. I have some reasons to believe, that he would prefer some place which would permit his residence in the town of Boston, and that should have commissions annex'd to the performance of its duties. There is no such place that I know of in the ordnance department.

Congress have not yet done any thing in consequence of our address to them; if they *think* on the subject at all the result must be that we have the properties of the

* Henry Knox was born in Boston July 25, 1750, and died in Thomaston, Maine, Oct. 25, 1806. He received a good education, and in early life was a bookseller in his native town. He warmly espoused the American cause, and giving up his business joined the army immediately after the battle of Lexington, and took a conspicuous and important part down to the close of the war. See Appleton's Cyclopædia of American Biography, vol. iii. pp. 565-567; F. S. Drake's Life and Correspondence of Henry Knox. — Eds.

† Nathaniel Barber, Jr., of Boston. — Eds.

camelion, and can subsist on air. However I will acquit them of the *crime of thinking* of us in the smallest degree.

I have heard that the State of Massachusetts have given to its general officers certificates that the depreciation shall be made good to them. If so, I will thank you to ascertain, whether I am regarded as belonging to that State, and if I do not, what State I do belong to. Pray write me, and let me know what are the views and prospects of the present day; whether avarice prevades *all* classes and degrees of men or whether it is confin'd to particular classes and who these classes are.

You know my claims on the late estate of M^r Flucker.* I will thank you to enquire what prospects or reliance I shall place in the expectation of receiving part of it. I have two petitions now before the House which I expect may be decided on soon.

The affairs of Ireland will be a pretty addition to the embarrassment of England and will, I hope, produce a speedy peace for America.

I beg you to present my respectful compliments to M^{rs} Heath, and believe me to be

Your sincere friend and humble servant.

H. KNOX.

My aid, Shaw, will deliver you this; his merit is such as to entitle him to any honor, and I beg leave to recommend him to your esteem.

General HEATH.

WILLIAM HEATH TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.†

ROXBURY, March 27th, 1780.

DEAR GENERAL, — I have been honored with yours of the 2nd instant, respecting Cap^t Cartwright and beg

* Thomas Flucker, the last Secretary of the Province of Massachusetts Bay. He was the father-in-law of General Knox, and was named in the Massachusetts Confiscation Act. — Eds.

† Washington's answer is printed in 5 Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. iv. pp. 157-159. — Eds.

your Excellency to accept my thanks for your determination respecting him.

A resolve of the Hon. the General Assembly of this State, of which the enclosed is copy, was sent to me the 24th instant. I am endeavouring to detain three commissioned officers and one serj^t from each reg^t belonging to the Massachusetts Line for the purpose expressed in the resolve, but as your Excellency's orders required the officers to joyn their respective corps by the first of April, which is nearly arrived, I apprehend the number proposed will not now be found in the State. If your Excellency should approve the measure, will it not be expedient to have the number mentioned immediately compleated, or increased, by sending a number of officers from West Point? As the companies are very weak I beg leave to submit to your Excellency whether a number of officers will not be more essentially employed on this than on any other service at this time. If your Excellency should approve of it I would request a signification of your pleasure to Major General Howe on the subject, as soon as may be convenient.

The plan which I have proposed in consequence of the Resolve is, to have the recruiting officers dispersed throughout the State, and assiduously apply themselves to recruiting. The premium given by the State is very generous and will be an inducement to exertion, the recruits as soon as mustered to be sent to Boston, Worcester, or Springfield as may be nearest or most convenient, a commissioned officer, one of the three retained, beginning with one from the eldest regiment, to march from Boston every Monday with such recruits, soldiers whose furloughs are out, and deserters as may be found at that rendezvous, with which the officer is to proceed to Worcester and Springfield, and having collected those from the last mentioned places, to West Point and deliver the recruits, &c, to the corps to which they respec-

tively belong. Any other mode shall be adopted which your Excellency may think proper to direct.

There are at present two impediments in the way of successfully recruiting; one is the want of money for the continental bounty, the other clothing for the recruits. There is in the hands of M^r Deputy Pay M. G. Hancock a small sum of public monies. Colonel Crane, who has inlisted upwards of thirty men, is applying to me to obtain from M^r Hancock a sum to pay the continental bounty to those men. I have informed him that upon his presenting a list of the men's names and a certificate that they have not received their continental bounty, I will desire M^r Hancock to advance the sum necessary, but that I have no right to order it. As to clothing the recruits immediately upon their inlisting, or before they march through the country, your Excellency is sensible that nothing will have a greater tendency to please the recruits or more induce others to inlist. Indeed, Colo. Crane informs me that some of the recruits are so destitute of clothing that they actually suffer in the barracks. This will tend to wound the service at a stage of the recruiting when every thing should conspire to promote it. Shoes, hose, and shirts can be obtained from the State store, but coats, vest, breeches, blankets, and hatts cannot. I request your Excellency's opinion and direction on the several matters before mentioned.

A ship, prize to the Dean frigate, arrived at Boston a few days since, with between 4 and 500 puncheons of rum, &c, and on the 23rd inst a ship, prize to the Aurora of Marblehead, arrived at that port, laden with 1,600 barrells flour, 1,400 barrells beef and pork, and some dry goods.

I have the honor to be, with greatest respect,

Your Excellency's most obedient serv^t,

W. HEATH.

His Excellency General WASHINGTON.

JOHN PATERSON TO WILLIAM HEATH.

WEST POINT, March 31st, 1780.

SIR, — I received your favor of the 9th March, have sent to the commanding officers of the 4th and 15th battalions, and shall as soon as they come to hand send the certificates to the Board of War.

Our supplies are yet very scanty, — the forage has been gone these fourteen days and but a little flour. The river has been open three weeks; the chain will be down to morrow. We have been making every exertion in our power to put the works in a state of defence against an attack which the enemy are loudly threatening; but we are now like a man who has arrived to the age of three score years and ten, his eyes dim, his hearing gone, his limbs paralytic, depending on a broken cane which wounds his hand instead of supporting the feeble body. This in fact is the case with the shattered remains of the once respectable line from the State of the Massachusetts Bay. We once had a respectable soldiery, the men in high spirits, they then had confidence in the justice and generosity of their country, in which confidence they fought, they conquered, they endured hardships, cold, hunger, and every other inconvenience with pleasure. But alas the reverse in every particular is the case with us at present. Our officers resigning by dozens, our men for during the war at home waiting (but in vain) for justice, what remain are mostly composed of nine months' abortions, sent here with bounties which ten times exceed those given for the war, naked, lifeless, and dead, who never saw action, are now counting days, hours, and minutes they have to tarry in service.

Recruiting is now intirely at an end. The parsimony (I will not say dishonesty) of the Court has entirely prevented it. Our reports from credible persons are that

the Court are so lost to every sentiment of humanity as to stop even the small pittance given by the towns and private gentlemen to the poor soldiery as a small (indeed very small recompence) in some measure to counterbalance their excessive fatigues, fasting, and hardships. Every one must know that making up the depreciation is only making good the wages they had promised and pawned the honor and credit of the State they should receive as an encouragement to enter the service. Taking the bounties out of it (with a number of other encouragements given from time to time by Congress) is such a manifest and opened faced injustice that it is beneath a man of sense to use arguments to confute it.

You may, perhaps, think this picture is too high coulered, but be assured, my dear Gen^l, that there is now an intention making head very fast in the line of all resigning and leaving the service. Should this take place (as I assure you I have reason to believe will) the consequence I am certain will be fatal. You must conjecture what spirits I can have from this. We have it from the best intelligence the enemy mean suddenly to attack us at this post (tho' the intellegence and the way it comes to us at present must be secret), yet I am sure of it. We cannot from the two brigades here muster more than seven hundred men, the two on the other side I believe about equal; out of them one third at least will have served out their time within three weeks. From this representation, which is in fact the truth, you must judge of the defence that can be made. You may rest assured that from my past sufferings from an ungrateful country I shall never give my consent to give up the post as long as my own or a man's life is left. It really gives me pain to think of our public affairs; where is the public spirit of the year 1775? where are those flaming *patriots* who were ready to sacrifice their lives, their fortunes, their all, for the public? I can point some of

them out in the Court, telling the people that the army are the only persons they have reason to fear, throwing their weight into the scale against those who have fought, bled, and eaven the widows of those who have been killed in the service of their country; but drawing the picture gives me pain in writing, and I am sure it will you in reading.

The enemy lately made an attack on our advanced troops at Pyramus, but were drove back, with the loss of some killed, wounded, and made prisoners, after burning the Court house and some other buildings at Hackinsack. This is all the news we have except, as I have said before, that preparations were making at New York which by every account is designed against this post. Inclosed you have a receipt for twenty six thousand one hundred and ninty pounds lawfull money, which was the sum I actually rece^d. I have paid it all to the commanding officers of regiments but five thousand nine hundred and twenty nine pounds which still remains on hand. I believe no more will be wanted here, nor do I think that the officers will have occasion to dispose of the twentieth part of what they have got except they pay it to the old soldiers.

I am, dear General, your humble serv^t.

JOHN PATERSON.

Honble. Maj^r Gen^l HEATH.

ROBERT HOWE TO WILLIAM HEATH.

HIGHLANDS, March 31st, 1780.

I was, my dear Sir, begining to adopt fears that you had forgotten me, when your favour of the 15th ins^t (which arrived this morning) prevented my realizing an opinion, which would have given me great anxiety.

I feel so sensibly wishes for your happiness, that I

rejoice at your finding your friends in health on your arrival, and most earnestly hope that the blessings of possessing an amiable consort may be continued to you, and the completion of your wishes in a hopeful progeny may crown your felicity, and fill the measure of your happiness.

The embarrassments and disappointments which have attended us at this post have been various and manifold, and called for our every exertion to prevent the very annihilation of the army; they are now, however, in some degree (but not wholly) surmounted. The motions of the enemy have for some time called for our attention, and have exerted our speculations. By their moveing over horse, infantry, and corps of artillery with all the aparatus for field action to Staten Island, and by their collection of boats, and from some other preparations, their intention seemed to point towards Morris Town. Tho' some persons thought this post their object, the former opinion, however, was, I am perswaded, the prevailing one at Head Quarters; for my part I thought that neither would be attempted, and event seems to verify my conjecture. A very faithful and intelligent emissary of mine in New York wrote me that tho' the enemy ware busy, and seemed preparing for enterprise, yet he thought their intention was to embarrass, perplex, and alarm, and that they assumed the aspect of offensive operations to prevent our adopting them, and I fancy his opinion is well founded. I have, however, for reasons that must be obvious to you, held out to the troops the necessity of being in a constant state of readiness, and tho' I am convinc'd that the enemy have at present no local object in view, yet the measures they are pursuing, and intelligence I can confide in, make it certain that they mean to act with rigour when they can take the field. At present you need not be told that they cannot move out in force, but to effect things that are

attainable by sudden execution alone, and as West Point is not to be obtained in that manner, and at this season they cannot keep the field, they will hardly (I should fancy) undertake it at present. The British embarkation for Charles Town are at last arrived, and are within fifteen miles of that city, and tho' they suffered a good deal by the storm, they have arrived in much better order than we wish'd or expected. They have taken post on James and John's islands, and appeared (when my friend wrote me) not to be intending to act immediately, probably some of their store ships had not arrived; may God of his infinite mercy disappoint them at all points. The North Carolina troops had got up, and the Virginians were momentarily expected, and our people well prepared for obstinate contention, and in high spirits. Who would not be an actor upon so glorious a stage?

The decreasing state of our battalions, indeed the rapid decay of them, teems with horrid images, our best men are leaving us every moment, and we shall soon be left with little more to act with than the nine months *miscarriages*; for God sake, my d^r Sir, exert yourself to the utmost to send up to us the men whose furloughs are out, and press on the recruiting service with all possible zeal, in which you will most essentially serve your country. I hinted to you above that from every circumstance I thought it certain that the enemy meant to act with vigour this ensuing campaign; you know I persuade myself that my intelligence is good, and the best I have induces me to think so. This makes it almost certain that they will not exhaust themselves by trifling enterprises, or take the field until they can do it with effect; it calls, Sir, for the immediate and serious attention and the strenuous endeavours of every State to have the army in a situation to counteract these designs; let it not be said that the detachments they have sent out have so weakned them that they have not numbers

to act offensively. The idea is obnoxious to public good, and is not founded in fact.

The decline of our army from the expiration of enlistments alone makes the enemy comparatively stronger for this campaign than they were in the last, and when added to this we consider the divisions of North Carolina and Virginia troops, with the corps of horse, sent to South Carolina, it will demonstrate the necessity there is for the utmost efforts of every State to complete the army as rapidly as possible.

It is a serious truth, tho' it may not generally be understood or believed, that the British troops now in New York and its vicinity are not less than sixteen thousand effectives; the Gen^l commanding there are Knup Hauson and Tryon, the former I am told was always accusing of Sir Henry Clinton of inactivity, and from his fondness for Gen^l Tryon is entirely under his influence. The character of Tryon has been, I find, in this country very much misunderstood; the avowed enmity between him and Clinton has kept him out of every command that was respectable enough to call forth his abilities. I, Sir, have serv'd with him, and from the most intimate acquaintance with him know that he is not only brave, but that he is an officer of enterprise and resources, ambitious to excel, and possess'd with an enthusiastic lust for fame, he will therefore catch at this campaign as the only opportunity that has been or perhaps will be lent him to operate with vigour, and every proceeding since he has been in command warrants this opinion. The enterprise against our troops at Elizabeth Town and Newark in New Jersey, also against Thomson, and the success of them, the very clever scheme the other day to draw out our troops upon the lines to Elizabeth Town, while they were manuvring to surround them, and the adventure to surprise those at Parramus, three or four days ago, tho' both unsuccessful, discovers a genius in

the guidance of their measures which has not been discernable for some time previous to this man's taking command, and presages what may be expected of him, and should induce us to prepare accordingly.

The very spirited, liberal, and patriotic measures your respectable Legislature have pursued, and are pursuing, give the most promising hopes of their filling their quotas, and forcibly prove that they want no stimulus, but the deserved influence they have over other States induces me to express a wish that they would exert it to forward the re-establishment of our army upon which I conceive so much to depend.

In respect to the address you speak of, I have heard that it is almost immediately to be taken up, and its several objects attended to. I have now, Sir, I am much afraid, tired you, and that I may not render the perusal of this letter still more fatiguing to you, by giving you the trouble of expanding my hieroglyphicks, I have contrary to my intentions at first, got Maj^r Longborn to decypher them.* My family present respectful compliments, and am, d^r Sir, with every wish for your happiness,

Your most ob^t hum^l servant.

ROBERT HOWE.

ROBERT HOWE TO WILLIAM HEATH.

HIGHLANDS, 4th April, 1780.

DEAR SIR, — The face of affairs have varied so little since I did myself the pleasure of writing you last that I am almost without a subject. The enemy remain also as they were, preparing to act vigorously when they do take the field, but not ready was the season even ad-

* General Howe wrote such an illegible scrawl that it is almost impossible to decipher his writing; and it may almost be doubted whether he could have read the whole of any one of his own letters if he had laid it aside for a few months after it was written. — EDS.

vanced enough for any immediate operation. Emissaries inform me that two battalions of Hanspach's regiment, the Langrave's, and General Brown's, and a regiment they do not recollect the name of, were embarking for Charles Town, where Clinton is said to be in no very enviable situation, and consequently stands in need of reinforcements. We have diminished so much, and are so daily growing weaker, that I have prevailed upon the General to let me call down General Poor's brigade, for without them it would have been impossible to proceed upon the works, which is an anxious circumstance to me, and must be so to every one. I beg and doubt not your exertions to hurry up the men with you, whose furloughs are out, that the works may be finished before the opening of the campaign.

I am, dear Sir, with wishes for your happiness,

Your most obt^t serv^t.

R. HOWE.

WILLIAM HEATH TO THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF
MASSACHUSETTS.

ROXBURY, April 7th, 1780.

GENTLEMEN, — This morning I received a number of letters from the principal officers at West Point dated the 31st ulto. and 1st instant. The letters are so replete with representations of the uneasiness and discontent of the troops of your line that it would be criminal in me to conceal them. An officer of rank writes, "We have been makeing every exertion in our power to put the works in a state of defence against an attack which the enemy are loudly threatning, but we are now like a man who has arrived to the age of three score years and ten, his eyes dim, his hearing gone, his limbs paralytic, depending on a broken cane, which wounds his hand instead of supporting the feeble body. This in fact is the

case with the shattered remains of the once respectable line from the State of Massachusetts Bay. We once had a respectable soldiery, the men in high spirits; they then had confidence in the justice and generosity of their country, in which confidence they fought, they conquered, they endured hardships, cold, hunger, and every other inconvenience with pleasure. But alas the reverse in every particular is the case with us at present. Our officers resigning by dozens, our men for during the war at home waiting for justice, what remain are mostly composed of nine months' men sent here with bounties which ten times exceed those given for the war, naked and lifeless, who never saw action, are now counting days, hours, and minutes they have to serve. Recruiting is now entirely at an end. Parsimony has entirely prevented it. Our reports from credible persons are that the Court stop even the small pittance given by the towns to the poor soldiery, as a small, indeed very small, recompence in some measure to counterballance their excessive fatigues, fastings and hardships. Every one must know that makeing good the depreciation is only makeing good the wages they had promised and pawned the honor and credit of the State they should receive. Takeing out the bounties is such manifest injustice that it is beneath a man of sense to use arguments to refute it. Where is the publick spirit of the year 1775, where are those flaming patriots who were ready to sacrifice their lives, their fortunes, their all for the publick, are they throwing their weight into the scale against those who have fought, bled, and even the widows of those who have been killed in the service of their country? but drawing the picture gives me pain in writing, and I am sure it will you in reading. You may, perhaps, think this picture is too high coloured, but be assured, my dear General, that there is now an intention makeing head very fast in the line of all resigning and leaving the service. Should this take place (as I assure

you I have reason to believe will) the consequences I am certain will be fatal ; you must conjecture what spirits I can have from this."

Another writes, " Things grow darker and darker, the cloud blackens, a universal murmur prevails, the officers do not complain one half so much on their own account as they do for the poor soldiers who have fought and bled for their country, will the Court stop their bounties? I would ask this plain question, if the money had not altered, whether at the close of the war the Court expected the soldiery would pay the bounties back again? why don't the Court call upon those officers and soldiers who were at Stony Point to know what money they received, that it may be deducted from their pay? If the pay of the army is good, why is there not more in the field, why so many officers resigning? Captains Varnum and Bancroft have resigned within these three days, with a great number of other good officers. I have not heard of one soldier inlisting for a month past, and you may depend upon it no more will inlist without better encouragement. I don't mean to paint things worse than they are, and upon my honor I have not sense and learning enough to paint them in proper colours."

If such are the prevailing sentiments and feelings of the army (and the channel through which I have received the information induces me to believe it), they are really alarming and demand attention. My intention at this time being only to represent to your Honors a state of facts reported to me, and which ought not to be kept from you, permit me only to add, that great statesman and politician as well as soldier his Prussian Majesty, who is well acquainted with humane nature, and of how much importance it is that there be no grounds of uneasiness or discontent in his army, strictly enjoins that when any symptoms of it are apparent particular enquiry be made into the cause, and "*whether the men have received their*

due," and even when necessity requires a retrograde march to be made that it be concealed under some pretext that will keep up the *spirits* of the soldiers. Another who knew human nature better tells us hope deferred makes the heart sick, a malady that should ever be kept out of an army. The fatigues and sufferings of yours have been uncommonly great, and the spirit that has been exhibited by the soldiery under them are scarcely to be parralleled. Your Honors are fully sensible of how much importance it is at a time when the army cannot be made so completely comfortable in every respect as could be wished, that the least grounds for jealousy and discontent should be most studiously avoided. The former part of the winter I flattered myself, and not without grounds, that the recruiting service would be very successfull, some unfortunate occurrences too apparent to need mentioning have for the present dashed my expectations. As a citizen and as a soldier I cannot but regret the loss of many veteran soldiers from the army (whose places cannot be filled with raw recruits) or that they should hereafter on an emergency be obtained on terms disadvantageous to the public, for I am not at loss to conjecture what will be consequent.

I have the honor to be, with great respect,

Your Honors' most obedient serv^t.

W. HEATH.

Hon. the General Assembly.

ROBERT HOWE TO WILLIAM HEATH.

HIGHLANDS, 9th April, 1780.

I have nothing new, my dear Heath, to inform you of but that the five regiments of the enemy I mention'd to you are absolutely embark'd, tho not saild; the object of the enemy's present aim is Carolina, and that their intentions (if they ever had them) against this place seem to

be laid aside. I yet think that they will in the course of the summer act with all the energy they can, and *I know* they are stronger than the States seem to believe. I wish the confidence placed in their weakness may not have too much influence upon American measures. For my part, tho I am not apt as you well know to see things thro a gloomy medium, yet I never thought the operations of Ireland much in our favour. Their object, like all other political bodies, is their interest and a free trade. Consequently their continual aspirations. They have lain in wait for an opportunity to obtain it, and the virtuous efforts of America have furnish'd them with it. They have caught at the occasion, and will, I doubt not, succeed. This done it becomes their interest to keep America as a mart only to Great Britain and themselves; and interest being the moving principle of all states, they will follow its dictates and act accordingly. A fig (I had like to have said a f——t) for all they have promis'd Franklin or Congress or any one else. Interest, I repeat, is the ruling passion of all states, and honour, generosity, and integrity are only used as stalking horses by which they get up to it, and that conduct which would render a private character infamous forever will in an aggregate body be applauded as a most laudable and admirable piece of address. It is, however, a high praise (as some body says) to honesty that every one likes to assume the garb of it, even when the end he has in view will prove him a villain, both to the world and his own heart. I have run into length when I ought to have avoided it, for I am in a hurry and in a crowd who are waiting for me. To read my letter over would take time. Excuse then all its errors, when you can decypher them, and take it with all its faults about it, as every one must take me, or they shall not have me at all. I have receiv'd your letter containing the methods fallen upon by your trusty and very respectable State for recruiting

their quota of men, and I am pleased that you are present to give energy to them, as nothing very particular at present claims your attention here. I shall, you may be assured, do every thing I can, or that you require, with pleasure.

I am, dear Sir, with great regard and respect,

Your most ob^t serv^t.

R. HOWE.

P.S. I wish I had been born in your State. Can't you prevail upon them to adopt me, tho' it should be only as a bastard son? God bless you!

WILLIAM HEATH TO ROBERT HOWE.

ROXBURY, April 14th, 1780.

DEAR SIR, — Your very obliging favor of the 31st ult^o came to hand a few days since, and that of the 4th instant this morning. I am happy to hear of your health and welfare, and thank you for the intelligence communicated. I think the enemy have not at present any serious intentions to visit West Point (it may be a part of their plan at another period should the war continue). Their second embarkation having sailed for Charlestown, will prevent any other capital offensive operations from New York; indeed, I think Sir Henry Clinton will strive hard for Charlestown. I am not without some anxiety for its fate. I am not acquainted with its situation or defences, but am no friend to extensive works or lines; they require many troops for their defence, and commonly if forced in one part the whole are lost, unless the garrison is sufficiently numerous to make a defence in the manner proposed by the King of Prussia. In constructing works policy dictates that we turn every circumstance of ground to advantage and make the best use of

rivers, morasses, abatis, &c, which may render the works difficult of access, but it is not these obstacles but the troops which are to stop the enemy. The event of the southern expedition will be very important and interesting. If Charlestown is lost it will be a heavy blow to us, and if Sir Henry is defeated it will be a fatal blow to the enemy, a blow they will scarcely survive without new and large reinforcements.

I have been hurrying off the furloughed soldiers who have been long detained for their money. I have been and still am endeavouring to spur the recruiting service, which would have been very successfull had not the Court very unfortunately stoped the bounty's given by the towns out of the depreciation money in the late settlement with the soldiers, which has created great murmuring and wounded recruiting exceedingly. I have just addressed the General Assembly on the subject, and hope a remedy will yet be applied. We have no news of consequence; the times or rather the people remain as distracted as ever, the prizes of goods and all the necessaries of life are most exorbitantly dear; avarice and extortion prevail.

My family join in compliments to you and yours.

I am, with great regard, dear Sir,

Your obedient serv^t.

Major Gen^l Howe.

W. HEATH.

WILLIAM HEATH TO ROBERT HOWE.

ROXBURY, April 25th, 1780.

DEAR SIR, — Your favor of the 9th instant came to hand a day or two since. I hope America will derive more advantage from the uneasiness of Ireland than you seem to imagine. If she continues to insist on being independant (altho it is probable the powers of

Europe will not allow it), it must force Great Britain into a negotiation, and by some late accounts from Europe, which you will find in the enclosed newspaper, it appears that Ireland is far from being satisfied with what has yet been done. A spirit of association seems also to be rising in England. Heaven encrease it. The *Dean* frigate and all her prizes are safely arrived; the one laden with fruit, &c., is said to have gone into a port in Connecticut.

My health is much repaired. I begin to think of returning.

I am, with much esteem, dear Sir, yours sincerely,

W. HEATH.

P. S. I am happy to find you entertain so high an opinion of my native State. I assure you that if you get adopted by her, if it be only as a bastard son, I will most cheerfully cultivate the affinity, and consider you as really legitimate.

W. H.

WILLIAM HEATH TO ROBERT HOWE.

ROXBURY, April 26th, 1780.

DEAR SIR, — Your favor of the 17th instant, enclosing extract of a letter from his Excellency General Washington, is just put into my hand. I have not received an answer from his Excellency to my last to him on the subject of recruiting, but momentarily expect it. If this State should fail of raising their quota of troops by inlistment I apprehend they will oblige each town to furnish its quota by a certain time. The furloughed soldiers are marched and marching, as are also some few recruits.

By a vessel in 19 days from Carolina we learn the enemy had got their shipping over the bar, but had made no new movements with their army; that our frigates

were hauled up, their guns taken out and mounted on a battery or batteries; the garrison of Charlestown numerous and in high spirits; that the enemy had lost one of their 64 gun ships in chasing one of their own frigates through mistake. By a vessel from Martinico we learn that a large French fleet with a body of land forces had arrived in the West Indies; that it was rumoured five sail of the line French, and the like number of Spanish, with a number of frigates and some thousands land forces, are to act on our coast. Heaven hasten them to the succour of Charlestown, and then on. I view our present situation in much the same light you do, but we must determine to rise superior to every obstacle, and altho Great Britain may be determined to die very hard, yet such will be the fate of her sovereignty in the thirteen States. I wish our ruling powers by an exertion at this time would accelerate her exit.

I most sincerely thank you for writing me so frequently, by which, I assure you, I have learnt to decypher your hieroglyphicks with ease and pleasure; intreat you to continue the favor. I will endeavour not to be in debt to you on this score. Please accept the compliments of my family, and present them to yours.

I am, with great regard, dear Sir,

Affectionately yours.

Major Gen^l Howe.

W. HEATH.

WILLIAM HEATH TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.

ROXBURY, April 30th, 1780.

DEAR GENERAL, — I was some time since honored with yours of the 28th ult^o, respecting clothing for the recruits, and this morning with that of the 17th instant. Several officers have already come from West Point on the recruiting service, and others are on the road. I wish they may be successfull, but am much at loss from the

tenor of your Excellency's letter to determine what bounty the recruits raised by this State (Massachusetts) are to receive. It seems the continental bounty after the act of March, 1779, was to be two hundred dollars. The General Assembly of this State on the 30th of Sept^r last passed the following resolution, viz^t, "Resolved that a bounty of three hundred dollars, in addition to the bounty and subsistence money allowed by Congress, be paid to each non-commissioned officer and soldier who has or shall enlist as one of this State's quota of the continental army during the continuance of the present war between the United States of America and Great Britain." This bounty appears to be intended over and above the continental bounty, and extended to all the soldiers belonging to their quota of the army enlisted at any preceeding period. I purpose to-morrow to lay the matter before the Assembly, who, it is probable, may have received some particular instructions on the subject, or at least may conduct as they think proper.

On Sunday last two privateers belonging to Salem (the Franklin and Jack) sent into that port a large letter-of-marque ship having on board 1,000 bbs. pork and beef, 750 bbs. flour, 800 firkins butter, and dry goods to the amount of £15,000.

A Doctor Apedale, lately come from New York to Boston, and some time before from Canada to New York, reports that before he left Canada it was said that about 1,000 regulars and Tories, with as many Indians as could be collected and would joyn them, were to make an excursion on our frontiers on the Mohawk River as soon as the season was suitable, in two divisions under the command of Johnson and Butler, and that Lieut Col^o Stacey was held a prisoner in Canada with a view to be exchanged for Johnson or Butler should either of them happen to be taken. How much credit is to be given to this report your Excellency may be able best to determine.

I have the happiness to forward this by Major-General Marquis de la Fayette, who arrived at Boston on the 28th instant, where he was received with every demonstration of joy.

I have the honor to be, with the greatest respect,
Your Excellency's most obedient serv^t.

W. HEATH.

His Excellency Gen^l WASHINGTON.

JOHN PATERSON TO WILLIAM HEATH.

Public Service. Honble Maj^r General Heath. Boston.

WEST POINT, Sunday evening, 7th May, 1780.

SIR, — The iniquities of America are so many and of such a nature that in reason we cannot, or at least ought not to, expect success, unless like the waggoner we pray the gods to help our carriage out of the mire without any exertions of our own.

Our army reduced to nothing, no recruits have arrived, neither do I hear of any coming. I cannot conceive what ideas possess the minds of the people at home, — do they think the war at an end? If they do, perhaps to inform them that a sixty four, fifty, and eight frigates are in the harbour at Charlestown, and that all our naval armament has fallen into their hands, may alter their opinions for the present. This you may depend is the case, and that an account of the capture of the town is hourly expected, with the return of S^r Harry to New York, when an immediate attack on this post will inevitably be the consequence. They will have perfectly answered their purpose by drawing a large proportion of our force at such a distance that it will make it impossible for them to act again this season in conjunction with us. This intelligence you may depend upon; I have it from Congress and a person of distinction at Morristown, tho at present only whispered in camp.

It is indeed very discouraging to the army, our numbers are so reduced that we cannot call ourselves an army. This you must be sensible of from your knowledge of our situation before you left us. Indeed the officers begin to think the country do not intend to support either them or the cause, and will, as they say, get out of the scrape as soon as possible, unless supported with men.

I have but a moment to write you but could not in justice to our bleeding cause wait; beg you to exert yourself in the affair; you have influence and I am certain will use it for the common good. We are now reduced to half allowance, every man on duty, our numbers daily lessening. Some regiments at present consist of fifty men only; with that body of men and the supplies of the garrison you can judge of the defence that can or ought to be expected from us.

I wish to hear by the next express from the southward that our troops have escaped, but I assure you it is not expected.

If this loss will rouse the country to exert its natural strength I shall not regret, but if not I must conclude they have lost all their virtue (or never had any) and that the cause is tottering on the brink of ruin.

I have not time to copy this or eaven to look it over, * you must therefore excuse all inaccuracies and believe me to be

Yours, with respect and esteem.

JOHN PATERSON.

Hon^{ble} Maj^r Gen^l HEATH.

WILLIAM HEATH TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.

ROXBURY, May 28th, 1780.

DEAR GENERAL, — I am this evening honored with yours of the 15th instant handed to me by the Hon^{ble} M^r

Bowdoin.* No endeavours shall be wanting to obtain the intelligence required. A flag is now in the harbour from Hallifax. A gentleman who came and is to return in the flag has business to transact with M^r Bowdoin. I have requested M^r Bowdoin to ask several questions respecting the works, garrison, ships, &c, which questions from him probably will not cause suspicion, but be considered rather to proceed from curiosity. The gentleman is a person of character, and M^r Bowdoin supposes a real friend to our cause. I think a Colonel Allen, who is superintendant of Indian affairs at Machias, and whose father and friends, if I mistake not, live in Hallifax, will be able to obtain and give me some particular and interesting intelligence. The moment any is obtained it shall be forwarded. But I fear the enemy have already apprehensions of the intention of our allies, for by intelligence just received here a number of transports lately sailed from New York, said to have about 2,000 troops on board destined for Canada, probably Hallifax or Penobscot, and it is reported that they have been since seen standing to the eastward.

Yesterday my baggage was packed up and was to sit out early to-morrow morning for the Highlands, indeed, I should have sit out before this time had not the uneasiness, debility, and wants of the Massachusetts Line, almost weekly represented to me by the officers, detained me and urged my endeavours to have them quieted, strengthened, and releived, but the season is so far advanced that I could not think of staying longer. I shall now attend to the objects of your Excellency's letter; at the same time request to be informed in your next whether I shall repair to the Highlands or wait your further orders here.

Our last accounts from Charlestown are to the 27th ult^o. The place was then safe, and the garrison in high spirits.

* Washington's letter was printed by Mr. Sparks in his edition of the "Writings of George Washington," vol. vii. pp. 36-38. — Eds.

The enemy had received a very severe repulse on the 22nd ult^o in an attack on our lines.

I have the honor to be, with the greatest respect,
Your Excellency's most obedient serv^t.

W. HEATH.

His Excellency General WASHINGTON.

WILLIAM HEATH TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.

ROXBURY, May 31st, 1780.

DEAR GENERAL, — Since I had the honor of writing you on the 28th instant I have been endeavouring to obtain intelligence of the situation of the enemy at Hallifax, &c. I learn that their naval force not long since consisted of one ship of 74 guns, one of 20, one sloop of war, and two or three privateers. General McLane, a vigilant officer, commands the land forces, which are said to consist of six reg^{ts}, each about 500 strong, four of which are at Hallifax, the other two at different posts in the province. The militia of the town is said to be about eleven hundred.

From a gentleman of the strictest probity and warmest attachment to our cause, and who has made upwards of forty voyages from Boston to Hallifax, I learn that when he was last there, which was a little before the commencement of hostilities, the enemy had a strong work on George's Island at the entrance of the harbour, about half a mile from the center of the town, a battery opposite George's Island on the west side about half a mile from the center of the town, and about the same distance from George's Island, a battery on the east side about two miles below or without George's Island, a battery also at the town. The ship yard and arsenal about a mile above the town, where there is a battery. The bason begins just above the ship yard, and extends

up about six miles northerly, from east to west between three and four miles. Above the navy yard was a block house at a place called the Narrows. The citadel is on a high hill back of the town at the distance of a quarter of a mile, and commands both the town and harbour. The bason is very spacious, capable, perhaps, to contain the whole navy of England.

I have just called at the Hon^{ble} Mr. Bowdoin's. He has procured a chart of the harbour of Hallifax, has made several enquiries of the gentleman I mentioned in my last, who I believe without the least suspicion answered every [one] of them. Mr Bowdoin is now makeing some minutes explanatory of the chart; and the information he has received from the gentleman, the chart, and minutes he will forward by to-morrow's or the next post to your Excellency. I am looking out for the best pilots; believe shall find a number very good ones. By the last accounts from Penobscot there was appearances of an evacuation, or the removal of a part of the ordnance and troops to some other place. The garrison at Penobscot at present is by no means strong, at most not more than 400. Cap^t La Touch of his Most Christian Majesty's frigate the *Hermione* in his late cruize ran into Penobscot Bay, where he lay for some time, made several signals, and took a plan of the works which he has forwarded to the minister at Philadelphia. It is said that the appearance of this frigate in the Bay has caused a great consternation and alarm. I have just established a correspondence with General Wadsworth, who commands the troops in the eastern part of this State, and with Colonel Allan at Machias; have requested every peice of intelligence they may be able to obtain, either from Hallifax or Penobscot.

The last evening I received most alarming accounts from West Point of the scantiness of provisions and rum at that post. A quantity of the latter is on the road

to Springfield. Since I have been here I have been endeavouring to promote the recruiting service all in my power, but the Court unfortunately stoping the towns' bounties in settlement with the soldiers has almost totally prevented enlistments. The new Assembly convened this day. I apprehend they will go any lengths that are recommended to complete their quota, even by draft if they cannot otherwise be obtained. I wish to know your Excellency's pleasure whether I shall urge it, and how far.

The issuing commissary here informs me that there is upwards of 900 quintals of dry cod fish in the stores, a considerable part of which will be in danger of spoiling in the course of the summer if it is not issued. What pity it is that the army in their present straits cannot be relieved by it.

A report prevails to-day that the Trumbull frigate and a French ship have retaken the Iris, formerly the Hancock frigate, off Sandy Hook ; hope it will be confirmed.

I have the honor to be, with the greatest respect,

Your Excellency's most obedient serv^t.

W. HEATH.

His Excellency Gen^l WASHINGTON.

MARQUIS DE LAFAYETTE TO WILLIAM HEATH.

ON THE HEIGHTS OF SPRINGFIELD, 11 June, 1780.

DEAR SIR, — As I understand the General has desired you to stop at Providence, and there to receive the French land and naval forces that are coming to that port, I beg leave to adress you this confidential letter, which I shall send as soon as a good opportunity may offer.

My meaning is not to point out any thing which may be done towards the helping the French troops, as I

know from experience that they will meet from you with all possible aid and civility.

I only desire as an American soldier and one that looks upon you as an intimate friend, to give you some previous hints about the people who are coming, and communicate to you such ideas as derive from my thorough knowledge of their manners, prejudices, &c., &c.

The fleet is commanded by the Chevalier de Ternay, *Chef d'escadre*, which is some thing in the naval line equal to what Major Generals are in the British service.

The army is commanded by M. le Comte de Rochambeau, Lieutenant General, by four *Marechaux de Camp*, equal to our Major Generals. I don't know if they have Brigadiers, but those are not called by the name of Generals. It is compos'd of four French regiments, two Germans, and the legion of Lauzun; they are commanded by one Colonel-Commandant, one Colonel-en-Second, one Lieutenant Colonel, and one Major. They consist on the war establishment of 1,450 men each regiment, divided in two battallions; the number of the legion I do not know. There is also a corps of artillery. The Colonels Commandants and Second Colonels will expect particular attentions from you; the French officers are compos'd of the first gentlemen of the nation. You know in what high station is in France the military profession and how far superior to the other kinds of life. These last hints I have dropp'd, my dear friend, to show you that we, from the prejudices of our allies, are more bound to attend to the dignity of the American army. Nothing will more surprise them than the denominations of colonels, majors, etc., for people that are nothing in the militia nor the military line, unless it is put on the account of the militia establishment. Accostum'd as they are to regiments of 1,450 men, we must not tell them the force of ours till they are reinforced, and mention only that they are upon the same footing as the British

regiments, but lessened by the kill'd and wounded of past campaigns. For what relates to the strength of the army, I think it better not to mention any precise number, as we are going to be reinforced by drafts from the several States.

As cloathing is coming for the soldiers from France, as we must hope the States will give some to theyr officers, I should not wish them to know that we are so ragg'd as we find ourselves, but, however, not to raise too much theyr expectations on this subject. I do not believe there are continental troops in theyr way, but suppose it was the case, we must show but such of them as are decently cloathed, and make a good appearance; for the militia the French don't expect any thing like dress and uniformity among them.

When we talk to them of our troops I would not like any thing of vanity and self praise. But I confess I hate apologies, and the soldiers of America, the opposers to all the efforts of Great Britain, the conquerors of the British and Hessian troops which are rank'd among the best of Europe, do not, I think, want so much to apologize.

His Excellency has made a regulation of uniforms, which we ought not to speak of as *a novelty* in our army. The Majors Generals are to wear a blue coat with buff facings, and two stars upon each shoulder; the Brigadier Generals the same, but one star; the field officers two epaulettes without star; the company officers one epaulette, and the captain to wear his on the right shoulder; the staff, except such as have military rank in the army, not to wear any uniform, but to have a cokade, and a sword. All commissioned officers to wear a black cokade, a sword, and an epaulette as much as our circumstances admit of it. The aids de camp to have the uniform of theyr lines, the epaulette of theyr rank, and a green feather; the aids de camp of the Commander in Chief to wear a *green and white* feather. I think, my dear friend,

that you, your aids, and such officers as may be in the way should conform to the said regulations, and I beg leave to send you my epaulettes with the two stars of major general ordered by his Excellency.

As a balance of ranks between the American and French officers has been proposed by the king of France, the honors paid to you in consequence of that balance which, I think, is a just one, shall be those of *Marechal de Camp*. General Washington is to receive the first that are paid to any man, except crowned heads, those of *Marechal de France*.

In the French service they give to the *Marechal de Camp* *thirteen guns*, to the Lieutenant General *fifteen*, which ought to be the quota paid to Count de Rochambeau. The honors paid by the French troops are different from those paid by the Americans; but I think it the best that each service salute according to its own regulations till it is settled at head quarters. The French salute the Lieutenant General with shouldered arms, the drums beating a march, the *Marechal de Camp* with shouldered arms, the drum being silent, the Brigadier with ordered arms.

Inclosed I have the honor to send you a letter of introduction to M. le Cte. de Rochambeau and M. le Chevalier de Ternay.

In case by chance any troops or guards were to be seen by any French officer, they should be repeatedly apprised beforehand of what any officer, private, sentry, or corps whatsoever is to do in every case that may occur before foreigners.

The French officers should be acquainted with our three distinctions of Militia, State, and Continental officers and men.

M. de Corny, a gentleman in the French service, with the title of *Commissaire des Guerres*, whom you have seen in Boston, will go to Providence for providing to the

several wants of the French army. I beg leave to recommend him to you as a gentleman of sense and merit whose acquaintance will, I dare say, prove agreeable to you.

The ennemy under Knypausen are at Elisabethtown Point, and we in this place looking at each other, and not knowing yet what will take place, but, I dare say, you will have an exact account of every thing that may happen.

I beg your pardon, my dear Sir, for the scribbling of this letter, but we are not in a settled situation, and I write you as fast as I can with bad pens and bad ink upon the corner of a bad table.

My letter will perhaps appear to you in some respects trifling, but from the knowledge I have of European prejudices, and particularly of the French nation, I do assure you that those articles are important to the consequence of our army during a co-operation. Nay it may extend itself farther. I beg most earnestly you will keep this confidential letter from any body whatsoever. I want, I confess, to support what I have already boasted off in France in my capacity of an American soldier. In the fighting way they shall see that we are equal to any thing; but for what concerns dress, appearance, &c., we must cheat a little.

Adieu, yours,

LAFAYETTE.

Major General HEATH, &c.

WILLIAM HEATH TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.

ROXBURY, June 12th, 1780.

DEAR GENERAL, — I am just honored with yours of the 2nd instant. I shall proceed to Providence with all possible dispatch, and hope soon to have the pleasure of welcoming the expected officers of our illustrious ally,

but it will be attended with an unavoidable expense which scarcely any officer in these distracted times can bear, unless he be assisted by the public. Without it I am sure that I cannot discharge the command with honor, either to myself or country. I have once had a specimen when his Most Christian Majesty's squadron under the command of the Count D'Estaing were in the harbour of Boston. I must therefore request your Excellency's orders for such assistance as may appear to be necessary, or if you should decline a step of this kind that you would be pleased to represent it to those who have an undoubted right to do it. Your Excellency's knowledge of the present times, state of the currency, and situation of the officers of the American army, renders it unnecessary for me to say more on this head.

A part of my necessary baggage was left at the Highlands. Will you obligingly advise whether it will be best to let it rest there, or have it sent to some other place? This will no doubt be governed by your Excellency's designs respecting my future destination.

I have the honor to be, with the greatest respect,

Your Excellency's most obedient serv^t.

W. HEATH.

His Excellency General WASHINGTON.

WILLIAM HEATH TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.*

PROVIDENCE, June 20th, 1780.

DEAR GENERAL, — I arrived at this place the last week, am waiting to execute your Excellencie's orders in the manner directed when the forces of our illustrious ally arrive. No intelligence of their near approach has yet been received here.

* Washington's answer is printed in 5 Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. iv. pp. 160, 161. — Eds.

Doc^r Craik is assiduously attending to the objects of your orders to him. The General Assembly have assigned a place called Paupasquash, a point of land about fifteen miles below this place, for the purpose of accommodating the sick; the air at that place is fine and salubrious, but I think it may not be altogether a place of safety from the annoyance of the enemy's shipping, especially should the fleet of our allies be too far distant to afford protection. I have written Governor Greene on the subject of hospitals and the markets. I was on the 18th honored with an answer to one of my letters, in which he observes, — "Yours of this date I have received and laid before the Assembly. They request me to assure you that they are fully impressed with the importance of the matters referred to, and I cannot but hope with the Assembly that by the spirited exertions of the quarter master aided by their committee," (one being appointed for that purpose) "suitable and ample provisions will be made for the safety and comfort of the sick and distressed of our allies."

I find many public stores at this place and in a very insecure situation. A *large* quantity of ammunition is lodged in a wooden school house, and within a few yards of several wooden dwelling houses on different sides, which in case of fire will communicate the flames; another large magazine is on the hill east of the town. Both of these are without guards in the day time, a town watch is said to mount in the night for their security. There is also a number of brass and iron cannon, some brass mortars, and a large number of shott, &c, in several places. An emissary of the enemy might easily spike the cannon with impunity. Major Perkins is here to take care of them and altho attentive to his duty, being without a single man to assist him except a conductor or two, he is prevented doing what is necessary even in shifting and airing the ammunition.

Colonel Greene's reg^t of blacks, which is very small, are all employed at North Kingston making fascines, as I am informed, by your Excellency's express orders, and there is not in this town even a serjeant's guard or one sentinel planted in the day time. Your orders direct my attention to another object, yet I cannot but mention these several matters in which the public interest is much concerned.

Doubts having arisen in the minds of Colonel Greene and the commissary of issues here, what officers are meant to be excluded from pay and rations by the resolve of Congress, of which the enclosed is copy, I request your Excellency's opinion on it, as I must confess the resolve to me appears so indiffinite that I cannot fully determine what officers the resolve extends to.

I have the honor to be, with the greatest respect,

Your Excellency's most obedient serv^t.

W. HEATH.

His Excellency Gen^l WASHINGTON.

WILLIAM HEATH TO MARQUIS DE LAFAYETTE.

PROVIDENCE, June 20th, 1780.

MY DEAR MARQUISS, — The last evening I was honored with yours of the 11th instant. As the post is just going off I have only time to acknowledge the receipt of it, and thank you for the hints you have given me, which I shall endeavour to observe. Love and duty to my country led me to take an active part in her cause, gratitude to her generous allies will lead me to pay every attention and civility in my power to those who may come to our aid; but, my dear friend, in the infancy of the armies of my country and her comparative inability it is not to be expected that our officers can vie in dress with the nobility of one of the most affluent nations

in the world. Ours will be an age of hardship, difficulty, and danger. Posterity, I hope, will reap the harvest of our labors in ease and affluance. If a new regulation of uniforms is to take place, I wish it had been sooner known; it will now be with some difficulty that I can conform to it. I, however, sincerely thank you for sending the epauletts. Please also to accept my thanks for the letters of recommendation to Monsieur le Chevalier de Ternay and Monsieur le Comte de Rochambeau.

I am, my dear Marquiss, yours sincerely.

W. HEATH.

P. S. I have just had the pleasure of takeing my good friend Cap^t La Touch by the hand. His wound is in a fair way.

W. H.

Marquiss DE LA FAYETTE.

WILLIAM HEATH TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.

PROVIDENCE, June 21st, 1780.

DEAR GENERAL, — The General Assembly of this State have passed a resolve to raise the number of men required to compleat their battalions, and have, I am informed, directed that they be sent to me to be mustered and ordered to their destinations. I shall immediately order two or three officers from Col^o Greene's reg^t with some serjeants to receive them here, and put them to the drill. It is probable that they will be some time collecting. As the first attempt is to inlist them if possible by the first of July next, I request your Excellency's direction how they are to be forwarded to the army, and what proportion of them. I do not know that there is one officer here belonging to the regiments with the army to receive and march the recruits on.

This morning a number of officers belonging to the

continental frigates taken by the enemy at Charlestown arrived here in a cartel. As they inform me that Major General Lincoln and Cap^t Whipple are gone to Philadelphia, from whence they are going home, they will probably be at head quarters before this reaches you. General Clinton is said to have gone to some part of Virginia with a principle part of the British army. A principle part of their ships of war are supposed to have gone to New York. Lord Cornwallis had marched from Charlestown with about 2,000 men towards North Carolina.

Cap^t La Touch, of the frigate *Hermione*, has just now been here. He is very desirous that a Captain Peter Duville, a native of Canada and well acquainted with the sea coast to the eastward, who was a lieut. in the continental frigate *Queen of France*, and is now a prisoner on parole, may be exchanged as soon as possible, as Cap^t La Touch wishes to have him on board his ship.

I have the honor to be, with the greatest respect,
Your Excellency's most obedient serv^t.

W. HEATH.

His Excellency Gen^l WASHINGTON.

WILLIAM HEATH TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.

PROVIDENCE, June 23^d, 1780.

DEAR GENERAL, — Enclosed is paragraph of an act of the Hon^{ble} the General Assembly of the State of Rhode Island passed, at their last session. The motive for making the disposition proposed is the much greater ease in obtaining the recruits if to be formed by themselves, as many are averse to be incorporated with the blacks. This disposition I do not think myself authorized to make without your Excellency's approbation and direction. If your Excellency should approve of the measure,

I beg leave to submit the sending such officers from Col^o Angel's regiment as your Excellency may judge necessary to march the men on. It will be necessary to retain the musick of Col^o Greene's reg^t. I beg your Excellency's answer to this as soon as may be convenient.

I have the honor to be, with the greatest respect,

Your Excellency's most obedient serv^t.

W. HEATH.

His Excellency Gen^l WASHINGTON.

P. S. General Glover has just come to town on his way to the army. He left Boston on Wednesday last. The day before (Tuesday) it was reported in Boston that a cartel from Hallifax had arrived at Portsmouth, New Hampshire; by some of the people it was said that a fleet was off Hallifax supposed to be French, that the inhabitants were much alarmed, and that a cutter had been dispatched to New York with the news. This may be without foundation.

W. H.

WILLIAM HEATH TO THE RECRUITING COMMITTEE
AT ROXBURY.

PROVIDENCE, June 27th, 1780.

GENTLEMEN, — I am just informed that a tax on my estate for the purpose of hieing men for the town of Roxbury to serve in the continental army has been presented to my family. This renders it necessary for me to trouble you with the following. The Hon^{ble} the General Assembly of the State of Massachusetts Bay in their resolutions of the 30th of Sep^t last for the encouragement of the army, among other things, resolved that, "The polls shall be exempted from taxes of every kind, and the estates both real and personal of each officer and soldier who shall engage as aforesaid (for the war) shall be exempted during their continuance

in the service from all town taxes levied for the purpose of procuring men to go into the army." This is copied verbatim from the resolve which was sent me and is now before me, if it is not satisfactory the original may be found in the records of the State. None have paid their taxes for the support of the war with more cheerfulness, or in better season, than my family have done. The bleeding cause of my country early called me to the field and still holds me there, deprived of every domestic enjoyment which are as dear to me as to any one living. If accompanied by my fellow countrymen, to whom our country calls as loudly as to me, there would be no occasion for such frequent and expensive drafts, but if any, regardless of their country's calls, will remain at home in the bosom of their friends pursuing their own interest, altho I do not say they have no right to do so, I say they have no right in law, in equity, or in reason to tax my estate for their neglects and deficiencies. My children are minors, consequently can be considered in no other light than as single polls without estate. As such they will cheerfully contribute their proportion in common with their neighbours, but nothing on account of my estate. I am determined to fight for my estate, liberty, and country in person, not by proxy; such as prefer doing of it by substitutes ought themselves to find them, without expence to me or mine.

I flatter myself the foregoing will be fully satisfactory to you, and that you will do that justice to me, my family and estate, which my absence for the present leaves to your decision.

I am with great regard, Gentlemen, your obedient servant.

W. HEATH.

Committee for procuring men for the Army in behalf of the First Militia Company in Roxbury.

GEORGE WASHINGTON TO WILLIAM HEATH.

HEAD QUARTERS, RAMAPAUGH, 29th June, 1780.

DEAR SIR,—I have received your several favors of the 12th, 21st, 23^d, and 25th instants. I think it but reasonable that the extra expences incurred by your present command should be defrayed by the public, and I will upon your being releived furnish you with a warrant upon the military chest for the amount. You will draw from the commissary whatever it is in his power to provide.

Your baggage which is at the Highlands may as well remain there, as it is more than probable that you will come on yourself to that quarter as soon as you have put matters in proper train for the reception and accommodation of our allies, who may be now daily expected.

I shall take the earliest occasion of endeavouring to effect the exchange of Cap^t Duville. I have had so little to do with marine prisoners that I cannot say whether we have an officer of equal rank in our possession.

Were the clause in the act of Rhode Island to which you refer carried into execution it would make a very great inequality in the strength of the two regiments, more especially as Colonel Angell's suffered the loss of upward of forty in killed, wounded, and missing by their gallant behaviour on the 23^d instant at Springfield. Instead, therefore, of the mode proposed by the Assembly, I think it best to march Colonel Greene's regiment and the levies when collected to the army and upon their arrival here so arrange and model them as to level the

regiments. The objection to joining Greene's may be removed by dividing the blacks in such a manner between the two as to abolish the name and appearance of a black corps. Under these circumstances I would not have Col^o Greene's reg^t to move this way untill the greater part of the levies have come in. They may then march together, and some officers may be left to collect and bring on what remain. They may in the mean time be employed in training and cutting fascines.

I am exceedingly pleased to hear that the Council have given up the college to Doct^r Craik, who would have been otherwise much distressed for convenient hospitals.

I am, with great esteem, dear Sir,

Your most ob^t serv^t.

Maj^r Gen^l HEATH.

[*No signature.*]

WILLIAM HEATH TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.*

PROVIDENCE, June 30th, 1780.

DEAR GENERAL, — I am this moment honored with yours of the 20th instant. General Glover left this place three days since on his way to the Highlands. I have ordered an express to follow him immediately with a letter; it is probable the express will not overtake him untill he arrives at the Highlands. I have given General Glover all the information your letter to me would afford, and have desired him to repair with all possible expedition to Springfield. I have written to the post master at Boston to forward your letter from Boston to Gen^l Glover at Springfield, and have advertised the recruiting officers in Massachusetts to repair to Springfield. As it may be some time before your letter of instructions may come to Gen^l Glover's hand, permit me to submit to

* Washington's answer is printed in 5 Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. iv. pp. 160, 161. — Eds.

your Excellency the sending a duplicate of that letter, addressed to Gen^l Glover at Springfield.

By a gentleman who arrived here this day from Boston we learn that a vessel arrived a day or two since at that place in about 8 weeks' passage from France, the master of which reports that three days before he left France a fleet of 12 sail of the line, with 10,000 land forces, sailed for America, and that sixty sail of the line were to sail in a few days, their destination unknown.

I have the honor to be, with the greatest respect,

Your Excellency's most obed^t serv^t.

W. HEATH.

P. S. Cap^t La Touch in the Hermione sailed this morning from Newport harbour, I suppose on a short cruize.

His Excellency General WASHINGTON.

WILLIAM HEATH TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.

PROVIDENCE, July 2nd, 1780.

7 o'clock, P. M.

DEAR GENERAL, — A few minutes since John Williams, Esq^r, formerly of Boston arrived here in 35 days' passage from L'Orient in France. He informs me that Count Du Chaffault sailed from France the 2nd of May with seven sail of the line, 5 frigates, and about 100 sail of transports, having 10,000 troops on board. The fleet has provisions for nine months for the whole of the troops and two millions of crowns in specie; by what M^r Williams could learn in France, if the fleet fell to the northward they were to proceed to Hallifax, a favorite object with our allies, if to the southward to Rhode Island. Our allies are in the highest spirits and M^r Williams thinks will handle the British severely this summer; that there was no talk of a British fleet following that of our allies.

The schooner in which Mr Williams came is about 90 tons burthen, is laden with salt, brandy, and dry goods. The continental frigate Alliance was in France when Mr Williams left it, and not likely to sail soon.

This afternoon Cap^t Hopkins arrived here in 14 days from S^t Martins. About nine days agoe in latitude 31, long. 66, saw six sail of large ships standing S. S. E. by the wind. Cap^t Hopkins is of opinion these ships were bound from Chaarlstown to the West Indies. Before Cap^t Hopkins saild it was reported and believed that about the 8th ulto. twelve Spanish ships of the line and five frigates, and four French ships of the line, with 12,000 Spanish troops, arrived at Gaudaloup. It was also reported that some vessels which had arrived at S^t Eustatia had fallen in with the fleet under Count Du Chafault consisting of 13 sail of the line; the grand French fleet in the West Indies was at Martinico.

The packet for Congress herewith transmitted was brought by Mr Williams.

I have the honor to be, with the greatest respect,
Your Excellency's most obed^t serv^t.

W. HEATH.

His Excellency General WASHINGTON.

WILLIAM HEATH TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.*

PROVIDENCE, July 11th, 1780.

DEAR GENERAL, — I was a few days since honord with a letter dated Head Quarters, Ramapough, 29th June, 1780, which from its contents I apprehend to be from your Excellency, altho the letter is without signature. I thank your Excellency for the assurances of support in the expences of my command here, and shall pay due

* Washington's answer to this and the following letter is printed in 5 Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. iv. p. 161. — Eds.

attention to your injunctions respecting Col^o Greene's reg^t and the recruits.

Every thing seems now to be in a fair way for the reception and accommodation of the fleet and army of our illustrious ally. Monsieur De Corny appears to be much pleased.

Your Excellency's ordering me from Boston to this place prevented my pursuing those further measures which I intended for ascertaining the precise situation of the enemy at Hallifax, especially the sending a person there for that purpose, which I was looking out for. On my leaving Boston I requested the Hon^{ble} M^r Bowdoin to make all further enquiry in his power, as he would have the best opportunity, my removal preventing my doing of it. I think it necessary to mention this to your Excellency that you may know how the matter stands as far as I have knowledge of it. I have a list of a number of good pilots for the eastern coast should they be wanted.

I have the honor to be, with the greatest respect,

Your Excellency's most obed^t serv^t.

W. HEATH.

His Excellency Genl. WASHINGTON.

WILLIAM HEATH TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.

PROVIDENCE, July 11th, 1780.

DEAR GENERAL, — A little before one o'clock this morning an express arrived here from Newport with advice that yesterday afternoon the long expected fleet of our illustrious ally appeared off that place, that the signals were all made and the fleet standing in to the harbor when he was sent off. I thought it my duty to give your Excellency this instant notice; as soon

as a particular account can be obtained. it shall be transmitted.

I have the honor to be, with the greatest respect,
Your Excellency's most obedient serv^t.

W. HEATH.

His Excellency General WASHINGTON.

PROCLAMATION.

His Most Christian Majesty, the great and good ally of these States, having sent an army and fleet to their aid who are now in this town and harbour, the principals of friendship, of justice, and generosity call upon the good people of this town and vicinity to exert themselves in rendering the situation of the army and navy as comfortable and agreeable as circumstances will admit; to facilitate this it is to be hoped the inhabitants will bring to the market of Newport all kinds of meats, poultry, milk, vegetables, &c, for which they will receive a generous price. At the same time it is expected that no person or persons will be so ungenerous to their friends and allies, as well as regardless of the reputation of these States, as to enhance the prices of any of the necessaries of life above the current prices at which the respective articles were sold before the arrival of the fleet and army. If there should be found any who are so lost to the principals of gen[er]osity, and friendship as to enhance the prices the committee for regulating the market are desired to report their names to the General immediately, that they may be duly noticed.

Given at Newport this 13th day of July, 1780.

W. HEATH, *M. G.*

Board, lod[g]ing, liquores, &c, are ment to be included in the foregoing.

By the Major Gen^ls Command.

WILLIAM HEATH TO MARQUIS DE LAFAYETTE.

NEWPORT, July 15th, 1780.

MY DEAR MARQUISS, — Since I had the pleasure of writing you last the long wished for fleet and army of our illustrious ally have arrived here. You know I was alwaies fond of your countrymen, but I was never more so than since the late arrival. Yesterday Monsieur le Comte de Rochambeau, and his suit and the Marshals de Camps dined with me, and this day the officers borne on the enclosed list. They all join in compliments to you. The troops make a fine appearance, and are said to be equal to any in the French army. The Duke de Lauzun has a fine legion, about six hundred strong. When our whole force is collected we shall have a formadable army. I wish a few thousand more troops had been sent out. It is, however, said that another division is to follow. I hope soon to have the pleasure of takeing you by the hand; in the interim I am, my dear Marquiss,

Affectionately yours.

W. HEATH.

Marquiss DE LA FAYETTE.

* WILLIAM HEATH TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.

NEWPORT, July 16th, 1780.

DEAR GENERAL, — Nothing of any considerable consequence has happened since I had the honor last to write you. The French troops are landed and encamped in a fine situation to the southeast of the town, and extend nearly across the island. The troops make a good appearance. The legion under the command of the Duke de Lauzun (the officer who took Senegall the last year) is as fine a corps as ever I saw. It is about 600 strong. The

officers express the highest satisfaction of the treatment they meet with. The markets are become very good. Great regularity is preserved. In short, in every respect, I may say, hitherto every thing appears agreeable and satisfactory.

I have this moment received a letter from a gentleman in Boston, advising that a vessell is just sent into that port which was one of a fleet of 36 sail from Ireland for New York. I have given information of it to the General and Admiral, and apprehend some of the fleet will go out on a cruize. The Hermione has been cruizing for this three or four days.

I have the honor to be, with the greatest respect,

Your Excellency's most obed^t serv^t.

W. HEATH.

His Excellency Gen^l WASHINGTON.

JABEZ BOWEN * TO WILLIAM HEATH.

PROVIDENCE, July 19, 1780.

DEAR GENERAL, — You must excuse me for not calling on you again to take my leave. I heard my family was unwell.

Several of our people have returnd from New York. They left it Tuesday week, and inform that the enemy could not muster more than five thousand effective men before S^r Henry Clinton arrived; that he bro't four thousand five hundred in the fleet, — of these three thousand effective. That their is 12 saile of men of war in the harbour, of different sizes as p^r the incloased list; that they discoverd the French fleet steering from the western shoar for Newport, and reported 8 ships of the line and 40 transports. That it made a great stirr

* For a notice of Deputy-Governor Bowen, see 7 Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. ii. p. 259 n. — Eds.

among them; great industry used in repairing their fortifications, especially on Long Island. There was no heavy cannon in them at that time. This seems to be the best account of the state of the enemy. From the reports of prisoners, in a few days, I suppose, you will have better information.

I wish you to call loudly on our General Assembly to furnish their quota of men without loss of time. If somebody don't stir them up, they will all get asleep again. The town of Swansey have not got a single man. I think you would do well to enquire into the reason of it. Many of their principal Tory inhabitants have been put under bonds by Gen^l Sullivan and Gates, but are now acting a most vile part. Your Council ought to be fully inform'd of the whole affair.

I give you joy on the arrival of the missing transport. Should advise their coming across by land to this or to Taunton.

Our pastures and gardens are all burnt up with the great drought; and the Indian corn will soon fail if rain is not sent to water the earth, which I pray God to send.

You will please to present my most respectful compliments to Monsieur Raushambau and the Admiral. Tell them it will afford me much pleasure to wait on them at Providence, and that my best services in every thing is at their command.

Wish you to let us know when the troops will be reviewed; perhaps we may pay you a visit, with some of the ladies in the train. If you have any news at any time, would thank you for a line.

I am, dear Sir,

Your most obedient and most humb. servant.

JABEZ BOWEN.

Gen^l HEATH.

WILLIAM HEATH TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.

NEWPORT, July 21st, 1780.

DEAR GENERAL, — Yesterday I was honored with yours of the 15th instant, and this day with that of the 5th. I some time since posted a guard from Col^o Greene's reg^t over the military stores at Providence, which I think it will be necessary to continue untill the stores are removed. The boats have been collected and repaired. They are now at the west end of the island, and at hand to convey troops, either on to or off the island. I shall make immediate enquiry respecting the plank, and give instructions conformable to your directions. Attention has been paid to the repairs of the wharves at the ferries, which are now nearly compleated.

I have ordered Col^o Greene's reg^t and the levies to march for the main army in manner as directed by your Excellency's letter of the 29th ult^o. The levies are not all raised. I have directed two commission officers to remain to receive and forward them.

The day before yesterday four ships, two of which appeared to be of the line, came and looked into this harbour, at perhaps the distance of five or six leagues. The wind blowing fresh into the harbour prevented any part of Monsieur Chevalier de Ternay's squadron giting out. I viewed the enemy's ships for some time. Early this morning three frigates of the squadron put to sea. We can discover them from the hights and a ship about five leagues to the east of them, but whether the ship be a friend or foe is yet unknown. At the request of his Excellency General Rochambeau I have ordered about twenty peices of cannon, 24 and 18 p^drs, to be brought to this place from Providence, &c, which he is going to mount at the entrance of the harbour on this and Conanicut Island, with some mortars, &c. Several prisoners

have lately come from New York; by them we learn that the enclosed list containd the naval force of the enemy at New York on the 11th inst. It is reported that Admiral Graves arrived at Sandy Hook about the 13th instant, with five or six sail of the line. If this be true it is possible that the English have rather the superiority in ships in these seas. The missing transport from the French fleet with about 340 soldiers on board which parted from the fleet on this coast is arrived at Boston. The men will march by land to Providence. I have requested the assistance of the Hon. Council and directed that of the D. Q. M. G. and commissary to hasten them. The regularity, peace, good order, and discipline which prevails here gives great satisfaction to all orders of people.

I have the honor to be, with the greatest respect,
Your Excellency's most obed^t serv^t.

W. HEATH.

His Excellency General WASHINGTON.

WILLIAM HEATH TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.

NEWPORT, July 21st, 1780, 10 o'clock P. M.

DEAR GENERAL, — This afternoon fifteen or sixteen British ships of war have made their appearance off this harbour to the eastward of Block Island; more than half of them, I think, are ships of the line. From appearances at sunset they intended to come too under Block Island. Admiral Greaves has probably joined Admiral Arbuthnot, and their design is to block up the fleet of Monsieur Chevalier de Ternay, and if possible intercept the expected second division of the French fleet. I thought it my duty to give immediate notice to your Excellency, and I beg leave to submit the expediency of some small cruisers being immediately sent from the Delaware to cruize for the

French fleet and direct them to a place of safety. I have taken the liberty to write to the Council and Navy Board at Boston, and proposed the same in case the fleet should take the eastern coast. I mentioned this to his Excellency General Rochambeau, who was so much pleased with it that he requested I would write, for that he should leave it wholly with me.

This night is spent in mounting a number of guns at advantageous posts at the entrance of the harbour, to make a cross fire with the ships, &c. There are here with the army a number of good engineers and an exceeding fine corps of artillery, with a numerous train of field artillery and some battering cannon.

I had ordered Col^o Greene's reg^t to march immediately for the main army, but under present appearances think it best to detain them a few days; have ordered them to take post on Butt's Hill, the north end of the island, to secure the communication. This has given much satisfaction to General Rochambeau, and I hope will meet with your Excellency's approbation.

I have the honor to be, with the greatest respect,

Your Excellency's most obed^t serv^t.

W. HEATH.

His Excellency Gen^l WASHINGTON.

MARQUIS DE LAFAYETTE TO WILLIAM HEATH.

NEWPORT, July the 28, at the Count's quarters.

MY DEAR FRIEND, — Agreeable to what had been settl'd betwen you and me, I spoke to the French General on the affair of the militia and hasten to send you his answer.

The several accounts receiv'd from so many quarters pointed out the necessity of providing for self defense, — it is true that for the present we have not receiv'd any contradictory intelligence. But the preparations his

troops have made, the design they have shown of defending this to the last extremity, and above all the spirited exertions of the State of Mashachusets and Rhode Island have perhaps defeated the ennemy's offensive projects or made it necessary for them to come with such an apparatus as will take a longer time.

All that the Count thinks about it is an affair of mere guess, as no contradictory accounts have come to hand. But he is so anxious not to give an unnecessary trouble to the people, he so warmly feel for theyr actual circumstances, and is so reluctant to theyr being call'd from theyr harvest, unless there is the most absolute necessity, that he wishes every one of the militia which had been call'd for, exclusive of those intended for the campaign, may be immediately countermanded. In case the coming of the ennemy would point out the necessity of sending for them in some other instance, he will then lay his request before the State, but for the present begs the extraordinary militia may be dismiss'd.

As to the three month militia which were to join General Washington's army from the State of Mashachusets and Rhode Island, and also the regiment commanded by Col. Greene, the French General requests that they may be collected as was heretofore settl'd to the north end of the island, where they will make some works for the security of his communication with the continent.

The Count de Rochambeau is happy to think that this new arrangement will not be in the least troublesome to the people, as the men ask'd for were immediately to join the grand army, where they will repair as soon as the works will be done, or the plans of the campaign and Gñl. Washington's directions will call them to the grand army.

The French General begs you, my dear Sir, to lay all that before the States, to tell them how gratefully he feels for theyr exertions in consequence of his requisition,

and how afflicted he would be in any case to give them the least trouble which would not be necessary to the common advantage of self defense. With the aid of the three month militia that may come he assures the State that if the British army mean to attack him; he hopes he will give them such a reception as may give time to the State to collect their forces against the common enemy.

Adieu, my dear Sir.

Yours.

LAFAYETTE.

WILLIAM HEATH TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.

NEWPORT, July 29th, 1780.

DEAR GENERAL, — We remain nearly in the same situation here as when I had the honor last to write you. The militia have been coming in, but few are yet collected. I was in hopes that they might have been stoped this morning, to which General Count de Rochambeau had just consented when I received a letter from Governor Trumbull of the 27th, in which he observes, the following intelligence I have in a letter from Col^o Wells, dated at Greenwich the 25th instant, viz^t; “The enemy are all gone, except Delancy’s from East and West Chester, and a very great embarkation takeing place, commonly believed they are going to the eastward. An officer of my regiment just arrived from below informs that the embarkation is almost universal from New York, Long Island, and Frog’s Point, that General Clinton’s baggage is all on board ship. If it was not for the transports which have come through Hell Gate, I should think the West Indies was their object, but time must determine their movements.” In consequence of this intelligence Count de Rochambeau has desired that the militia may not be stoped or sent back untill further intelligence is received.

As I am anxious to be with the army and resume my command, and as part of my baggage is now there, I request by the return of the express your Excellency's pleasure whether I shall proceed immediately. The manner in which you are pleased to express yourself in your former letters leaves a doubt on my mind whether it was your intention untill further orders, and by the time the express returns matters will be brought to a certainty here with respect to the intentions of the enemy. Indeed, it will be very disagreeable to me to be here longer than is necessary without troops to command.

I have the honor to be, with the greatest respect,

Your Excellency's most obed^t serv^t.

W. HEATH.

His Excellency General WASHINGTON.

WILLIAM HEATH TO JAMES BOWDOIN.*

NEWPORT, July 30th, 1780.

SIR, — His Excellency General Count de Rochambeau has just signified his pleasure that all the militia which have come in or are on their march to his aid (except those detached for three months) return to their homes to attend to their domestick affairs, which at this time peculiarly require their attention. This must be very agreeable to the militia, and I assure you is exceedingly so to me. General Count de Rochambeau expresses his highest pleasure and satisfaction of the spirit and zeal discovered both by the authority of the States to whom application has been made and by the militia, and rests assured that should occasion hereafter require it their aid will be immediately afforded. By intelligence received this morning

* Letters of similar purport were written by General Heath to Governors Greene and Trumbull and to Generals Washington and Varnum. — EDS.

the enemy's transports which were in the Sound had sailed to the westward, part of the troops at West Chester had marched for New York island, and that Col^o Simcoe with about 500 men had moved towards the east end of Long Island, probably to secure the stock. This day about noon the fleet that lay at anchor off the east end of Block Island came to sail and stood out about S. West. Whether they are gone to sea or come to sail only on account of the wind which now blows at east, and rendered their station rather unsafe, is yet unknown.

I have the honor to be, with great respect, Sir,

Your most obed^t serv^t.

HON. JAMES BOWDOIN, Esq^r.

W. HEATH.

WILLIAM HEATH TO JAMES BOWDOIN.*

NEWPORT, July 31st, 1780, 1 o'clock, P. M.

SIR, — In consequence of letters this moment received from his Excellency General Washington, Governor Trumbull, &c, an attack on this place may be expected as soon as the wind is fair to bring forward the enemy's shipping which were last at Huntington Bay, said to be 150 sail, with 8,000 troops on board. The militia are again called in, and I request that your commissaries may be again notified to send on provision without delay. General Washington has put the main army under marching orders to act as occasion may require. I have not time to add more than that

I have the honor to be, Sir, your obed^t serv^t.

W. HEATH.

JAMES BOWDOIN, Esq^r.

* Letters of similar purport were written by General Heath to Governor Greene and various military officers for the immediate return of the militia and to commissaries for the forwarding of provisions. To Governor Trumbull he wrote: "I have not called for the return of any (in the first instance) from Connecticut, not knowing but the enemy may land at New London or elsewhere in your State, where the presence of all your militia may be necessary, but should the enemy pass you I request that your Excellency would give orders for the militia to march this way with all possible expedition." — *Ens.*

GEORGE WASHINGTON TO WILLIAM HEATH.

ROBINSON'S HOUSE, 31st July, 1780.

DEAR SIR, — I arrived here last night, having met your favors of the 25^h and 26^h at Paramus, where the army then lay. Immediately upon hearing that the transports with the troops which had been some days on board had sailed eastward, I put the army in motion again; they will cross the ferry to-day and will be joined by the troops from hence. I propose moving as rapidly as possible down towards Kingsbridge, which will either oblige the enemy to abandon their project against Rhode Island, or may afford us an opportunity of striking them to advantage in this quarter, if Sir Henry Clinton has carried with him the number of men reported (eight thousand), and with less than which I think he would scarcely risque an attempt upon Count Rochambeau reinforced by the militia.

I intirely approve of the measures you have taken for calling in aid, and I have the strongest hopes that if Sir Henry should venture upon an attack that he will meet with a reception very different from what he expects. You know the critical situation in which this army will be in a position below, and how much depends upon constant intelligence of the motions of the enemy. I shall direct relays of expresses the whole way between this army and you to convey intelligence in the most expeditious manner. The nearest express to you will be upon Tower Hill, and Gen^l Greene advises that you should keep two whale boats to communicate with him by South Ferry so long as that passage shall be safe, and if that should be interrupted by Bissell's Harbour.

I am with great regard, dear Sir, y^r most ob^t ser^t.

G^o WASHINGTON.

P. S. I wish the Count De Rochambeau had taken a position on the main.

Gen^l HEATH.

G^o W——N.

WILLIAM GREENE TO WILLIAM HEATH.

PROVIDENCE, 1st August, 1780.

DEAR SIR, — The dismissal of the militia was unfortunate. However, I hope we shall not be deficient in men. Immediately on the receipt of your letter of yesterday orders were dispatched to all the brigadiers and commandants of regiments and independant companies in this State. The orders were repeated from a possibility of failure in the conveyance, and to accelerate their march, agreeable to your request. Messengers were sent to the officers of militia from the Massachusetts Bay and Connecticut who had been marching to your assistance, urging their immediate return. Expresses were sent to the President of the Massachusetts Council, Brigadier Gen^l Godfrey, and the other principal officers of the militia in the adjacent towns and counties of that State, communicating the request of his Excellency Compte Rochambeau and entreating their immediate compliance.

I am very fearful of the want of provisions. It will be exceedingly difficult for this State to supply its own militia. Its treasury is very much exhausted. Every expedient has been thought of. The Council of War have furnished the State's q^r master with certificates payable out of the taxes which are ordered and not yet collected. I trust there will be no failure in that department.

The furnishing of supplies, as I before observed, in the commissary department will be attended with difficulty. Every exertion in the power of the State will be made

to supply its own militia, but no dependence can be made on supplies from this State for the troops from any other. I have wrote Governor Trumbull on this subject. A letter from you, Sir, to the same purport, both to Massachusetts Bay and Connecticut, will probably prevent the evils apprehended from the failure of the necessary provisions.

I am, with due respect, Sir, your most obed^t servant.

W. GREENE.

Inclosed you have the examination of Benjamin Thurber, lately a prisoner with the enemy, and who has made his escape.

The Hon^{ble} Maj^r General HEATH.

WILLIAM HEATH TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.

HOWLAND'S FERRY, Augst 2nd, 1780.

DEAR GENERAL,—I am this evening honored with yours of the 31st ult^o. I came here the last evening in order to arrange and make a distribution of the militia who are coming in from all quarters. It has been agreed that about three thousand militia shall act upon the island, about 1,500 near Quaker Hill. If Sir Henry Clinton should land south of the town the militia will support Gen^l Rochambeau; if he lands on the north of the French army he will be between two fires and the 1,500 (the advance of the militia) will be supported by 1,500 more, who will be posted on Butt's Hill, &c. The remainder of the militia are to be posted on the east side of the ferry in order to secure the communication which is considered as a capital object. I wish with your Excellency that General Rochambeau could have taken a posi-

tion on the main ; we shall, however, do the best we can under present circumstances.

I have the honor to be, with the greatest respect,
Your Excellency's most obed^t serv^t.

His Excellency Gen^l WASHINGTON.

W. HEATH.

MARQUIS DE LAFAYETTE TO WILLIAM HEATH.

NEWPORT, August the 3^d, 1780.

MY DEAR SIR, — I have just receiv'd a letter from the General wherein he acquaints me of his motions towards New York, and in taking it for granted that you stay in the department tells me I may join my division in the grand army. You will easily believe, my dear friend, that upon G^{nl} Washington's letter I am in a great hurry to be with him, and indeed you know that I heartily wish'd for an order of going again to my command. I will therefore as soon as your answer will set me at liberty to do it repair to head quarters, and my horses are waiting at the door for that or any other of your commands. My orders were only to lay our circumstances before the French generals, know what they were equal to, and come back immediately, so that the General does not know if I am here still, and wants me to come as he with reason believes that I have done the business intrusted to my care.

Count de Rochambeau will be with you between four and five this evening, and wishes to speak with you. As his Excellency does not give him any hope of a continental succour, the Count thinks with reason that he must keep a greater proportion of militia within the lines. If you was to ask my opinion it would be this, — to have eight hundred men at the communication in the forts, to have two thousand more on the island at such places as we had settl'd yesterday, and those two thou-

sand men to retire within the lines. As there is no probability of the succour coming before long from the grand army, I would as a friend advise you to take your quarters again on the island and (till the ennemy come) at Newport. Those two thousand to retire within the lines and eight hundred to secure the communication will be a command which I think you might take yourself, leaving Gñl Varnum on the continent, and for the moment of the ennemy's landing you might cross a force equal to repulse them. But in my absence I think (as a confidential friend of yours) that your presence will be wanted here.

As to the spots which had been reconnoitred for posting the several bodies of militia Chevalier de Chattelux may give you as good an account of them (in case you had no time of riding there) as I might have done myself. The French will send us some flour and tents. I beg, my dear Sir, you will send me immediately my leave of setting out; without I can't stir as you are my superior officer. I am impatiently waiting.

Yours forever.

LAFAYETTE.

Count de Rochambeau is always determin'd to attack the ennemy on theyr landing.

In case there were letters from General Washington or Colonel Hamilton for me, or letters from Colonel Gimat as they are *merely confidential*, and the General will not have them seen by any body, I beg you will give previous orders that they be not put in any body's hands and be sent back unseal'd.

MARQUIS DE LAFAYETTE TO WILLIAM HEATH.

August, the 3^d, at six o'clock.

DEAR SIR,—I had the honor of writing to you this morning and communicating to you the contents of Gñl

Washington's letter, in consequence of which I am to join his army. I have spent the most part of the day in waiting for your answer. But as it did not yet come to hand cannot conceive how it may be so long detain'd. You are too much my friend not to know that if an attempt was made upon New York a delay of some hours might deprive me of the happiness to serve our noble cause and sharing a part of the common glory ; in consequence of which I hope you will excuse my not waiting any more. I am on board the *Duke de Bourgoigne*, where your letter was to reach me. *Chevalier de Ternay* wants to go out and is kept here by my presence. In a word, my dear Sir, I take upon myself to set out because I know from your friendship that you will have no objection to it, and because if I was to arrive too late I would for ever lament the time I lost since this morning. In order to conciliate what I think is due to you, and what I owe to *Genl Washington's* letter, I will ride day and night to regain the precious hours I have lost. Confiding on your goodness to excuse that step, and believing that both our friendship and the urging occasion will apologise for me, I am, my dear friend,

Yours.

LAFAYETTE.

WILLIAM HEATH TO MARQUIS DE LAFAYETTE.

HOWLAND'S FERRY, Augst 3rd, 1780.

MY DEAR MARQUISS, — I am just honored with yours of this date. I am exceedingly sorry to have you leave Rhode Island, as your knowledge of the genius and language of the French enables you to transact business with them with great ease, and may render your services more usefull here than elsewhere. To speak for myself I shall much regret your absence, but as you seem to have an inclination to return to your command in the army

I cannot object. I shall after dinner ride to Butt's Hill, where I shall probably meet Count de Rochambeau. The communication I still consider as the most important post, and if even the island should be lost it will be here, and that at any rate it should be secured on both sides the water. As you must, my dear Marquiss, be anxious to be on your journey as soon as possible I will not detain you by a long epistle, and pray you be assured that be your destination where it may, my best wishes for your health, honor, and happiness attend you.

I am, with great regard, my dear Marquiss,

Affectionately yours.

W. HEATH.

WILLIAM GREENE TO WILLIAM HEATH.

PROVIDENCE, August 3, 1780.

SIR, — The whole militia of this State are call'd forth, and the greater part of them will be this day at Bristol, the place of rendezvous. I have with great pleasure observed the spirit manifested by them on the present occasion, when the backwardness of the farming business, the excessive drought, and the impossibility of procuring any labor done in there absence will subject them to great and unavoidable loss. In justice to them I must beg leave to observe that the continuing the whole of our inhabitants in the field any length of time at this very busy season will be attended with ruinous consequences to this State, and nothing but the most urgent necessity can justify it. I presume from the conduct of the States of Massachusetts Bay and Connecticut on similar occasions that they will chearfully furnish their quota of men and supplies, and that the necessary measures have been taken for bringing the men into the field immediately.

I enclose you a copy of a letter from the Council of the Massachusetts Bay, from whence it appears that you are empower'd to call forth part of the militia of that State. I could wish to be informed whether from the requisitions already made that a part of the militia of our State may not be dismiss'd for the present consistant with the public safety.

I am respectfully, Sir, your most obed^t servant.

W. GREENE.

Maj^r General HEATH.

WILLIAM HEATH TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.

NEWPORT, Aug^t 5th, 1780.

DEAR GENERAL, — Since I had the honor last to write your Excellency, I have been closely employed in forming the militia who have been coming to our aid into brigades and makeing other necessary arrangements. Two thousand men have been and still are advanced near this town, about 1,500 at Butt's Hill, and the remainder at Howland's and Bristol ferrys. Perhaps a greater spirit never was discovered than has been on the present occasion. The militia of this State and that of the county of Bristol in the State of Massachusetts, with six other regiments from that State, have come in. The extreme busy season, the scarcity of provisions, and probability that Sir Henry will not come this way, has induced General Count de Rochambeau to consent that the militia return home except 3,500, in which number is to be included Col^o Greene's reg^t and the three months' men from Massachusetts. Two thousand of these are to be posted between Quaker Hill and the town, Black Point, &c; the remainder at Butt's Hill and Tomany Hill. The rest I shall discharge immediately. Nothing remarkable has transpired since I had the honor last to write. General Count Rochambeau has some intelligence

from the Hon^{ble} Mr. Cushing of Boston of a fleet having been lately seen at sea, which he thinks may probably be the 2nd division of the French. He will transmit the intelligence. I take the liberty to enclose a letter I have just received from Col^o Allan at Machias.

I have the honor to be, with the greatest respect,

Your Excellency's most obedient servant.

W. HEATH.

His Excellency Gen^l WASHINGTON.

WILLIAM HEATH TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.

HOWLAND'S FERRY, Augst 9th, 1780.

DEAR GENERAL,—The day before yesterday I was honored with yours of the 3rd instant, and immediately after consulting General Count de Rochambeau discharged all the militia who had come in on the alarm. The spirit and ardor discovered by the militia on this occasion, I think, will have a very powerfull effect on the minds both of our friends and enemies.

General de Rochambeau detains Col^l Greene's reg^t and four regiments of three months' militia from Massachusetts who were destined to Claverack and turned this way on the late alarm. The former agreeable to your instructions are enjoined to pay close attention to their discipline. I have called for a return, which shall be forwarded as soon as it comes to hand. The State of Rhode Island are raising their reg^t of three months' men. I shall duly notice your injunctions respecting them. The Count has desired that the three months' men from Massachusetts may be employed in repairing and strengthening the works on Butt's Hill which he considers as the key of the communication with the main and a post that will afford security to his stores, baggage, &c, in his absence, should his army move to act offensively

else where. The troops are accordingly employed on those works. This militia by your Excellency's orders were destined to Claverack. I pray your instructions to what place they shall march when the Count is willing that they leave this. Having sent home the militia, and made the other necessary arrangements in this quarter, I shall return to Newport. I wish to be with our own army, and I sincerely thank your Excellency for your assurance that my command is and will always be ready for me. My inclination leads me immediately to repair to it, but the sentiments held up in your letter that I may stay longer here if necessary to the accommodation of our allies is taken fast hold on by the Count, who will not readily consent to my departure at present. Indeed, hitherto it is not possible that more harmony could subsist than has been enjoyed by all the officers on both sides; every thing is in the greatest tranquility, nor can I wish for a better understanding than at present prevails.

The Count has applied to me for a number of drivers for his artillery and ammunition waggons. I have furnished them from the three months' militia; they receive their provisions and the additional pay of drivers from the Count, who is exceedingly pleased with them. Indeed, it would be impossible for the Frenchmen to drive the American horses without creating the greatest confusion and disorder especially in action. If your Excellency approves this, it is well; if inadmissible they shall be ordered to join their corps.

With every sentiment of respect, I have the honor to be

Your Excellency's most obed^t serv^t.

W. HEATH.

P. S. Newport, Augst 12th. I returned here yesterday. The British fleet are gone to Gardner's Island, except the frigates who continue cruising off the harbour.

His Excellency General WASHINGTON.

WILLIAM HEATH TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.*

NEWPORT, Augst 17th, 1780.

DEAR GENERAL, — The British fleet under the command of Admiral Aburthnot which was lately at anchor in Gardner's Bay came to sail the day before yesterday, and yesterday we are informed were off New London. Some deserters lately from the fleet report that Sir Henry Clinton has yet designs against the French fleet and army here, and that he will soon make an attempt with 13,000 land forces. Little credit is given to this report. I believe Admiral Arbuthnot from the superiority of his fleet wishes to come this way and has been and still is urging of it, but that Sir Henry Clinton is very diffident about it. The State of Rhode Island have not raised their regiment of three months' militia.

I have the honor to be, with the greatest respect,
Your Excellency's most obed^t serv^t.

W. HEATH.

His Excellency General WASHINGTON.

WILLIAM HEATH TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.†

NEWPORT, Augst 31st, 1780.

DEAR GENERAL, — By the master of a small vessel who left Martha's Vinyard yesterday morning I learn that Admiral Aburthnot is at that place with ninesail of the line, eight other ships of war of different rates, and two tenders; that he has made a demand of 11,000 lbs. of beef and mutton to be delivered every other day at 5^d p^r 1^b; that the inhabitants had represented to him that they could not comply with the requisition without being

* Washington's answer is printed in 5 Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. iv. pp. 161, 162. — Eds.

† Washington's answer to this letter and to the one immediately following is printed in 5 Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. iv. p. 163. — Eds.

very soon involved in great distress, on which the Admiral assured the inhabitants that he would not insist on the full quantity demanded, if they would deliver as much as their ability would allow; that it was said Admiral Arbuthnot's taking station near the Vinyard was to prevent a junction of the 2nd division of the French fleet, which can be better effected from his present than his late station. This probably is his object, as the prevailing winds in the approaching season will be in favor of it.

Enclosed is the report of two deserters from Long Island and the last intelligence I have received from that quarter.

I have the honor to be, with the greatest respect,

Your Excellency's most obedient serv^t.

W. HEATH.

His Excellency General WASHINGTON.

WILLIAM HEATH TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.

NEWPORT, Sept 3rd, 1780.

DEAR GENERAL. — His Excellency General Count de Rochambeau has this morning consented to Colonel Greene's regiment joining the army. I shall therefore order them to march as soon as possible, which I apprehend will be some time the next week. The Count retains the three months' militia from Massachusetts for the purpose of completing the works at Butt's Hill. This militia consists of parts of five regiments, as your Excellency will see by the returns which are made to the Adjutant Gen^l of the army. The Count thinks the works might have been finished before this time and that the militia do not work with spirit. This, I suppose, in some degree is the case, altho every possible means has been taken to animate them. But after all the works are very extensive, and the digging entirely in

a rock, and the ditch cannot be sunk faster than the engineers and miners drill and blow the rocks. Under these circumstances, and in a work nearly as large as the fort at West Point, your Excellency cannot be at loss to conjecture what time will be necessary for its completion. For my own part I do not believe that it will be finished and friested in less than six weeks, if so soon. The Count intimated to me this morning that the time of service of this militia was now so short that your Excellency would not probably wish to have them go on from this place. This your Excellency can best determine.

The Count begins to think of winter quarters, and has applied to the Legislature of the State on the subject; they have appointed a committee to confer with him. Newport and Bristol are talked of for the purpose. I fear they will be stratened for fuel and forage, especially the latter; they have a prodigious number of horses and the crops of hay have been but light, and the feed from the excessive dry season is very short. The Indian corn is also much effected by it, and the crops in general this way will be light.

The British fleet left the Vinyard Sound on Wednesday or Thursday last, but where they are gone is yet unknown. Some deserters who made their escape from the fleet while at the Vinyard report that they expected a reinforcement from Newfoundland (this, however, we know must be very trifling), and that they would make an attempt on the French at Newport; but as your army was become very strong it was doubted whether a sufficient number of troops could be spared from New York to give any prospect of success to such an enterprise.

I have the honor to be, with the greatest respect,
Your Excellency's most obedient serv^t.

W. HEATH.

His Excellency General WASHINGTON.

WILLIAM HEATH TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.

NEWPORT, Sep^r 19th, 1780.

DEAR GENERAL, — I have just been favored with a sight of your letters to General Rochambeau and Admiral de Ternay, mentioning the arrival of a fleet at Sandy Hook, supposed to be a squadron under the command of Admiral Rodney, a few minutes before I received the enclosed from Colonel Ledyard at New London. General Rochambeau and Admiral de Ternay went yesterday morning to Providence, were not expected to return untill to-morrow or next day. Baron Viominel, who is the senior officer of the French troops here, is very desirous to be precisely ascertained that Admiral Arbuthnot's fleet were at Gardner's Island the 13th and 14 instant, which will fully determine whether the fleet which arrived at the Hook was Arbuthnot or Rodney. I have sent an officer to have the matter fully determined. Baron Viominel has also sent off an express to the General and Admiral at Providence. For my own part I am of opinion that the fleet which arrived at the Hook is part of Admiral Rodney's, from the West Indies.

A very intelligent man just from New York informs me that the most active preparations are making there for the embarkation of a body of troops, that a number of vessels are fitting for their horses, that the comings are made very strong, and have the appearance of being designed for a voyage of some length, but the approaching rough season may be the motive for this; that there were conjectures that the embarkation was destined for the West Indies, the southward, and by some that an attempt would be made here before winter, at least on the shipping.

Enclosed is a certificate of the time of Lieut Cook's resigning his commission.

I have the honor to be, with the greatest respect,

Your Excellency's most obed^t serv^t.

W. HEATH.

His Excellency Gen^l WASHINGTON.

WILLIAM HEATH TO JAMES BOWDOIN.

NEWPORT, Sep^r 22nd, 1780.

SIR, — Since I had the honor of addressing you yesterday I have received authentick intelligence from New York that Admiral Sir George Rodney arrived at Sandy Hook on the 13th instant, with ten sail of the line and two frigates; that on the 15th he detached Commodore Drake with four sail of the line to join Admiral Arbuthnot. These four ships formed a junction on the 18th near Gardner's Island. The object of the junction is to intercept 12 sail of French men of war which the enemy suppose are coming here from the West Indies. The embarkation of a body of troops was ordered to take place immediately at New York, their destination variously conjectured. Some thought for Virginia; others this place. I think they cannot spare a sufficient land force from New York to effect any thing of consequence here, but their great superiority in naval force at this time may lead them to attempt the destruction of the fleet in our harbour. The French General desired me this morning to notify the militia of the adjacent country to hold themselves in readiness to march to their assistance should it become necessary. I have written Governor Greene on the subject. The readiness of the militia to turn out on all occasions has been so conspicuous that I have not given notice to any in your State, but if necessity require it shall call upon such to

march as may be needfull. In takeing such a step I conclude I shall have your approbation, as I shall call on such reg^{ts} as have heretofore been pointed out by the Hon^{ble} Council. Shall be carefull not to call sooner or more than may appear to be necessary.

I have the honor to be, with great respect, Sir,
Your most obed^t serv^t.

W. HEATH.

HON. JAMES BOWDOIN, Esq^r.

WILLIAM HEATH TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.

NEWPORT, Sep^t 25th, 1780.

DEAR GENERAL, — A few days since, and during the absence of General Count de Rochambeau at Hartford, I received very particular intelligence from Major Talmadge that Admiral Rodney arrived at Sandy Hook on the 13th instant with 10 sail of the line and two frigates, that on the 15th Admiral Rodney detached Commodore Drake with 4 sail of the line to reinforce Admiral Arbuthnot, (these four ships formed a junction on the 18th near Gardner's Island). Their object is said to be to intercept 12 sail of French ships expected on this coast from the West Indies, and that orders were given for an embarkation of troops to take place immediately at New York. The whole of this intelligence was forwarded by Major Talmadge to head quarters, which your Excellency may have seen since your return, if not before. In consequence of the receipt of it here General Viomenil proposed to me the calling back Col^o Greene's reg^t, which had passed over to the main on their way to the main army. This I did, and the reg^t returned accordingly. The French General also proposed the notifying the militia to hold themselves in readiness to come in on the shortest notice, but their readiness has been so conspicuous on every occasion that

I thought this last measure unnecessary. I cannot yet think that the enemy will make an attempt on this place, altho their present great naval superiority may prompt them to attempt the distruction of the French fleet. Since this last intelligence was received, the fleet has taken a new position, which with the support of three batteries of heavy metal, one on each flank and the other in the center, it is thought their situation is rendered safe against an attack from the fleet, altho so much superior, and that they cannot be destroyed, unless the enemy come with such a land force as to get possession of some posts on the island. Count Rochambeau returned here the last evening.

Admiral Arbuthnot's fleet remain near Gardner's Island.

I have the honor to be, with the greatest respect,

Your Excellency's most obed^t serv^t.

W. HEATH.

His Excellency Gen^l WASHINGTON.

WILLIAM HEATH TO COMTE DE ROCHAMBEAU.*

PROVIDENCE, Oct^r 10, 1780.

DEAR GENERAL, — I have not been able to settle matters so as to admit of my departure untill this morning. I am now sitting out for head quarters. I cannot leave this State without, testifying the gratitude, respect, and esteem I feel for your Excellency, and that friendship which nither length of time or distance of place can obliterate. I pray you, Sir, accept my warmest wishes for your health and happiness, that your command may be easy and honorable to yourself and advantageous to the allied nations in whose service you are engaged, from whom may you continue to receive the most honorable approbations.

* For a notice of Comte de Rochambeau, see 7 Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. iii. p. 177 n. — Eds.

I have the honor to be, with every sentiment of respect and esteem,

Your Excellency's most obedient servant.

W. HEATH.

P. S. Please present my respectfull regards to the officers of the army and navy of whom I shall retain a most affectionate remembrance.

General ROCHAMBEAU.

BENJAMIN TALLMADGE * TO WILLIAM HEATH.

PINE'S BRIDGE, Oct^o 10th, 1780.

DEAR GEN^l, — Since my return from head q^{rs}, a few days since, I have been hon^d with your agreeable fav^r of the 21st ult^o with its enclosed from M^r Broome, as also another of the 30th ult^o. I am much obliged to you for your kind attention in forwarding my letters to M^r Broome, as well as his returns to me.

Before this reaches you the information of Major Andre's execution must undoubtedly have been rec^d. Thro' the course of his tryal and confinement (during which I had the charge of him a great part of the time) he behaved with that fortitude which did him great honor. He made every confession to the Court which was necessary to convict him of being a spy, but said nothing of his accomplices. During his confinement I became intimately acquainted with him; and I must say (nor am I alone in the opinion) that he was one of the most accom-

* Benjamin Tallmadge was born in Brookhaven, N. Y., Feb. 25, 1754, graduated at Yale College in 1773, and taught school at Wethersfield, Conn., down to the breaking out of the war. In June, 1776, he was made Adjutant of a Connecticut regiment, and served in various capacities down to the close of the war. He had personal charge of André after his capture. After the war he engaged actively in business in Litchfield, Conn.; and in 1801 he was elected a member of Congress, where he served until 1817, when he declined a re-election. He died at Litchfield March 7, 1835. See Appleton's *Cyclopædia of American Biography*, vol. vi. pp. 25, 26; *Dexter's Yale Biographies*, third series, pp. 506-508. — Eds.

plished young gentlemen I ever was acquainted with. Such ease and affability of manners, polite and genteel deportment, added to an enlarged understanding, made him the idol of Gen^l Clinton and the B. army. On the day of his execution he was most elegantly dressed in his full regimentals, and marched to the destined ground with as much ease and cheerfulness of countenance as if he had been going to an assembly room. Tho' his fate was just, yet to see so promising a youth bro't to the gallows drew a tear from almost every spectator. He seemed, while with me, to be almost unmindful of his fate, and only regreted his disappointment.

Since Arnold has been at N. Y. he has flung into the provost many of our friends whom he will have punished if possible. I fear it will injure the chains of our intelligence, at least for a little time 'till the present tumult is over. I am happy that he does not know even a single link in my chain. His Excellency Gen^l Washington has undoubtedly given you the particulars of the whole hellish plot, which was laid to have nearly overthrown the liberties of this country. So providential, I had almost said miraculous, a detection of such deep laid villany can hardly be found in the history of any people.

Joshua Smith, an accomplice with Arnold, was under tryal when I left h^d q^{rs} a few days since, and will doubtless be punished capitally.

Oct^r 11.

I have this moment rec^d information from my agents at N. Y., but no letters. The conduct of that infamous Arnold has been such since his arrival at N. Y. that our friends who were not even suspected are too much agitated at the present juncture to favor us with intelligence as usual. I hope in a little time the storm will blow over.

I have two acc^{ts} from N. Y., but neither thro' my old channel, one of which is that the enemy have embarked a

considerable body of troops and were put to sea ; another that their embarkation goes on very slowly.

The letter herewith sent, please to forward to Mr Broome. With compliments to the gentlemen of your family, I am, d^r Gen^l,

Most respectfully your obed^t serv^t.

BENJ^A TALLMADGE.

Gen^l HEATH.

COMTE DE ROCHAMBEAU TO WILLIAM HEATH.

NEWPORT, Oct^{er} 12th, 1780.

MY DEAR GENERAL, — I have received the letter that you honoured me with from Providence. I am extremely sensible of the marks of friendship that you give me, and likewise very grateful for all that your good heart has dictated to you upon this occasion of our present separation. I regret vastly your absence, my dear General, as well as all the army, and I shall never forget the zeal, the activity, and the intelligence with which you helped us in all our operations, and the French army will always be most grateful of it. I have the honor to be, with the most inviolable attachment, my dear General,

Your most obedient and humble servant.

LE C^{te} DE ROCHAMBEAU.

WILLIAM HEATH TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.*

WEST POINT, Oct. 17th, 1780.

DEAR GENERAL, — Yours of the 16th inst^t to Major General Greene was handed to me. Colonel Van Scaik with his reg^t arrived here a few hours since from Albany, which place he left yesterday. The Colonel informs me

* Washington's answer is printed in 5 Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. iv. p. 164. — Eps.

that the enemy after takeing and burning Fort George, Fort Ann, and about thirty houses and as many barns had gone back, but it was apprehended by the commanding officer at Fort Edward that after they had secured their prisoners they would return. Col^o Gansvoort's reg^t embarked yesterday for Albany, but the wind has prevented their sailing. I have with the advice of General Greene ordered the reg^t commanded by Lt. Col^o Command^r Weissenfells to embarke, and as soon as the wind is fair proceed to Albany, with the other reg^t, to take Governor Clinton's orders, who had arrived at that place just before Col^o Van Scaik came away. I wish to know your Excellency's pleasure, whether one of those reg^t, should the enemy desist from further operations in that quarter, be ordered to Fort Schuyler for the winter, or in what way the place of the present garrison, who have not long to serve, shall be supplied.

I have the honor to be, with the greatest respect,

Your Excellency's most obed^t serv^t.

W. HEATH.

His Excellency Gen^l WASHINGTON.

JOHN PATERSON TO WILLIAM HEATH.

CAMP TOTOWAY, 23^d Oct^r, 1780.

DEAR GENERAL, — I have seen a letter from you to Gen^l Glover, inclosing a very bulky one from M^r Cushing, requesting your opinion of the best method for raising the troops for three years or during the war.

It most certainly is absolutely necessary, but the foolish, childlike conduct we have for years pursued, if designed, could not have been better calculated to prevent it. Bounties before unheard of have been given to but little better purpose than to hire the populace to visit the army; this instead of checking the growing avarice of the country (which ought to have been their object)

has cherished it, till they pay their devotion to no other shrine but mammon's. This disposition they now find necessary to surmount, but the way to accomplish it they are undetermined in, the prodigy of their own begetting has become not only troublesome but frightful.

It is impossible for me to know what will be best, unacquainted with the finances of the State and the disposition of the people, it must be only opinion founded in ignorance, but suppose it political to engage the men of sense, of learning and ability of every town in the plan. They must raise the spirit of the people, and if possible revive the enthusiasm of '75. These men must attend particularly to the concerns of the public; they must co-operate with the Court. Experience has taught us that the populace have but few opinions of their own, that in every town these persons if they can be engaged to promote will accomplish any measure they please. They even ought to be bribed to do good; when you have once gained them almost any method will be acceptable.

If immediate exertions, and those that will suddenly answer the purpose, were not necessary, I should tell them the most certain method to raise the men would be to feed, clothe and pay those they now have in the field, that as long as they cheat them no person will enlist, and that the pay of a soldier must be as good or better than what he can obtain at home, but this will be a work of time. The fame of it must be known in the country; the simple resolves of the Court will do nothing; they have depreciated in a twofold proportion to the circulating medium.

Classing the men, I think, is the surest way, and will be the best, if the licentiousness of the people can be made to submit to it, and the civil authority will act with a proper spirit and politically it will answer our wishes, but if this should be thought inexpedient they must offer such bounties as will engage them, whether to be paid in

money, specie or land, the several towns must be the best judges, even this will be cheaper than the present mode, for I am certain that we shall have no peace 'till we put ourselves into a condition to fight our enemy that will continue to the end of the war.

One great inducement, particularly to the six months' men, would be a good uniform, perhaps equal to any bounty we could give them. They are young, gay, and poorly clothed at present, and will be almost naked before their times expire. Indeed, no pains can be too great, no jewel too precious to part with, that will answer our purpose, but what bounty would answer that end is to me unknown.

As an individual and citizen, I wish, let the cost be what it will, that the men should be raised for the war. I wish to see the army on a respectable footing, tho I shall not have the honor of belonging to it another year. My circumstances are such that I must retire from service [or be] ruined, but shall carry my best regards for the army with me. The gentlemen that compose it will have my warmest wishes for their prosperity and happiness.

I am, dear General, with esteem and regard,

Your most obedient and humble servant.

JOHN PATERSON.

My best compliments to your family and the families of the house.

Hon^{ble} Maj^r General HEATH.

WILLIAM HEATH TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.*

WEST POINT, Oct 24th, 1780.

DEAR GENERAL;—The last evening I was honored with yours of the 21st, 21st, and 22nd instant, to which I shall duly attend.

* Washington's answer is printed in 5 Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. iv. pp. 167, 168. — Eds.

The minister of France passed by the Peekskill road yesterday before I was honored with your letter or heard of his approach.

The enemy did not come out as was expected, and Col^o Hazen has returned. I shall appoint a court of enquiry for L^t Col^o Varick, &c, and facilitate M^r Granger's trying experiments in gunnery when he arrives.

A deserter from the British artillery came to this post to-day; he left New York last Saturday; says it was reported in New York that General Clinton had gone with the troops which lately sailed, — their destination variously conjectured; that General Kniphausen commands; that the troops that lately arrived at New York were said to be only recruits, 102 of which were for the six companies of artillery; that the Cork fleet had arrived, &c.

It was my intention on my first arrival to have represented to your Excellency that there is at Providence in the State of Rhode Island a large quantity of ammunition and ordnance stores, I think too many to be trusted at that place, and are not altogether so well secured as they should be if their present repositories are to be considered as permanent. I submit it [to] your Excellency.

I cannot but express an anxiety at the prospect we at present have of proper supplies for this important post. We but just obtain a daily supply of provisions when the magazines should contain a supply for an emergency. One long storm or spell of severe weather would drive us on the verge of want. I cannot yet learn from what quarter permanent supplies are to be drawn. A large quantity of salted meat and flour should be in magazines before winter. I cannot learn that any preparations are making in this vicinity for putting up the former. Would it not be much the best and least expensive to have the beef killed and salted as near the post as possible; it will save a great expence in the transportation and be

within our reach. I request to know on whom I am to call or depend for supplies of every kind, not only for present use but to replenish the magazines. When I am ascertained of this no exertions of mine shall be wanting to secure them if possible in season; and I shall avoid troubleing your Excellency with complaints on that head, unless necessity compels me. I have written to his Excellency Governor Clinton and Col^o Hay on the subject; have requested the assistance and support of the former and exertions of the latter.

I have the honor to be, with the greatest respect,

Your Excellency's most obed^t serv^t.

W. HEATH.

P. S. I am just informed that a number of prisoners made the escape from the provost at Fishkill the last night, by diging upwards of twenty feet under ground.

W. H.

His Excellency General WASHINGTON.

WILLIAM HEATH TO THOMAS CUSHING.*

WEST POINT, Oct^r 27th, 1780.

SIR, — Yours of Sep^r last, the precise date of which I cannot recollect, respect'g the recruiting your line of the army, came safe to hand. Being ordered to this post has prevented my makeing those enquiries which you desired, and I should have done had I proceeded to the army where all your troops except Col^o Henry Jackson's reg^t and part of the artillery are; but on my arrival here I took the earliest oppertunity to write Gen^l Glover

* Thomas Cushing, at the time this letter was written Lieutenant-Governor of Massachusetts, was born in Boston March 24, 1725, graduated at Harvard College in 1744, and died in his native town Feb. 28, 1788. He filled many important public positions, both before and during the Revolution, and was one of the most influential and honored of the patriot leaders. He was one of the founders of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. See Drake's Dictionary of American Biography, p. 237. — Eds.

on the subject, and enclosed your letter and desired his attention to its objects. I have not received an answer from him, but have lately received a letter from General Patterson. The manner in which the army for a considerable time past have been fed, cloathed, and paid, especially the two latter, has greatly discouraged them; to this may be added the triffling consideration they have and do receive for their notes of compensation. Yet I think all that the soldiery have suffered, which is scarcely to be parrelleled in history, may be surmounted if ample means are afforded in future, for many of them are really much attached to the service which their conduct has fully proved, but, depend upon it, that if some speedy and effectual measures are not taken to recruit, cloath, feed, and pay your army, the period of its dissolution cannot be far distant. This ought to be attended to immediately; you well know, Sir, how anxious I was the last winter to have your line recruited. I have ever since lamented that many hundreds of fine fellows were lost who might have been inlisted, many may be inlisted now if the matter is attended to, even upon the old bounty if it could be paid down immediately, as the sight of money is now precious among the soldiery; but something more must be done to induce the number you want to complete your quota. You must give them an adequate bounty, and at any rate a suit of good warm cloths as soon as they inlist and pass muster. Nothing will contribute more to the recruiting service than the latter. You must also take proper measures to feed them well, and at least certain measures that they shall be paid their wages agreeable to the establishment you fix with them. If this is done you will not want either men or an army. Our country has force, spirit, and resources sufficient. Nothing is wanting but to call them out and guide them properly. If this is done our warfare will soon have an honorable and happy issue; without this

we put every thing extremely at hazard, to say the least. I wish to say much more, but want of time forbids.

I am, with great regard and esteem, Sir,
Your most obed^t serv^t.

W. HEATH.

Hon^{bl} THOS CUSHING, Esq^r.

ALEXANDER McDOUGALL * TO WILLIAM HEATH.

FISH-KILL, 28th Octo^r, 1780.

D^B SIR, — This will be delivered to you by M^r Weeks, a respectable refugee from Long Island, who has been from thence since the enemy sott down before the lines at Brookline. He has been wagon master at these posts since you first commanded at Peek-Kill. The pres^t arangement of the Q. M. Gen^l department has so displeased him that he will not serve in it. Gen^l Greene prevailed on him to go to the island for intelligence for the common cause and has his orders for that purpose. He waits on you for your orders; altho he is not a volunteer in this business he is determined to do any thing in his power to serve America. If you should think proper to send him, he may be relied on for his integrity, but he ought not to be sent in such circumstances as to subject him to the denomination of a spy or Party Blue. I need not inform you of the importance of good intelligence to your post and the army in general. M^r Weeks' knowledge of the island and his influence there will give him singular advantage in that service. By a letter from the Commander in Chief of the 24th instant I am at liberty to go to Congress whenever I can get ready. In the mean time, I will chearfully give you any assistance in my power, and should the enemy make any serious demonstrations against your post I beg to have the earliest notice of it. The cold season is fast advancing, and unless your house for roots is soon covered, they will perish

* For a notice of General McDougall, see 7 Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. iv. p. 106 n. — Eds.

as they did last year. If the chain is extended much longer, it will be difficult to be brought in; and the logs will get so water soaked that you will meet with much embarasment in the spring if they are not dried in the winter. From present appearances there is little danger of any serious operations above you this campaign. Therefore were I in your situation, I would make the necessary preparations to get it in by the midle of next month at farthest; we delayed it too long the two preceding years and had like to have lost it the first winter after it was extended. Col. Tuper got it in last year with great ease, and I suppose may be readily got for the purpose this year. It is a very troublesome thing to manage in cold weather. From my knowledge of the post I have taken the liberty to suggest those matters, which I hope you will excuse, and I am confident unless you exercise the utmost power given by the civil authority to punish the cow and horse theives, they will harrass you and the troops during the winter and spring, and greatly distress the country below and near Crompond. Last autumn and winter the gen^l officers that quartered in the house I rent at Peeks-Kill with the wagoners burnt me an hundred cords of wood, which I had ready cutt on the farm. I wish now to have five of the new levies to cutt that quantity or a part of it. Major McDougall is at the house, if you think proper to order that number over to take his orders; it will be some reparation for the damage.

I shall have the pleasure of paying you a visit before I go on to Congress.

I am, dr Sir, with sentiments of esteem and respect,

Your humble serv^t.

ALEX^R McDOUGALL.

P. S. The want of plentyfull rain for near eighteen months has so dried up the springs and brooks in this

*

vicinity, that I fear the consequences to the army; many of the inhabitants have not good water to drink who used to have great plenty of it.

Major Gen^l HEATH.

GEORGE CLINTON TO WILLIAM HEATH.

POUGHKEEPSIE, Oct^r 30th, 1780.

DEAR SIR, — Your letter of the 17th instant reached me on my pursuit after Sir John Johnson, about 14 miles above Fort Herkeimer. Gansevoort's and Weissenfel's regiments did not arrive at Albany until the enemy were driven out of the country, and those to the northward had recrossed the lakes and returned to the neighborhood of Ticonderoga. The inhabitants on the northern frontiers, from the easy access the enemy had among them, were greatly distressed, and Col^o Gansevoort before my return to Albany from the westw^d by the advice of Gen^l Ten Broeck marched his regiment to cover that part of the country and prevent its being abandon'd. Weissenfels marched to Schenectady. The levies incorporated into it, whose times expire about the middle of December, were immediately to march to Fort Herkeimer to keep open the communication with Fort Schuyler. The regiment itself will remain at Schenectady until a competent supply of provisions can be procured for the garrison of Fort Schuyler during the winter to escort it up. A very inconsiderable part of the supplies for this service is as yet provided, and unless particular attention is paid to this business as the season for water transportation in the course of a month will be over, and it will be impossible to forward it by land, the post must in the course of the winter be abandoned. The newspaper will give you a pretty just account of the late progress of the enemy on the frontiers, except as to the devastations

committed by them, which it might not be so prudent to publish. They have destroyed at least 200 dwellings and 150,000 bushels of wheat, with a proportion of other grain and forage; though by the rapid pursuit after them a considerable tract of country which wou'd have shared the same fate was saved.

I shall be happy in rendering you every assistance in my power in the execution of your important command; but, believe me, Sir, the distresses of this State are such that unless those which have experienced less of the war make greater exertions than they have lately done there will be great difficulties in maintaining even your post.

I find Weissenfel's regiment exceedingly deficient in point of clothing for the climate to which they are destined. I should have been glad, therefore, if some other regiment better provided could have been ordered to that duty, especially as I find from this consideration, and because the troops of this State conceive it an hardship to be obliged perpetually to garrison that post, it is become extremely disagreeable to them. If the direction of this matter does not lie with you, I shall be obliged by your communicating this sentiment to his Excellency the Commander in Chief.

I remain, with perfect esteem, dear Sir,

Your most obed^t servant.

GEO : CLINTON.

The Hon^{ble} Major Gen^l HEATH.

WILLIAM HEATH TO GEORGE CLINTON.

HEAD QUARTERS, WEST POINT, NOV^r 2nd, 1780.

SIR, — I was this morning honored with yours of the 30th ult^o. I sincerely feel for the unfortunate sufferers from the late depredations of the enemy in the northern counties of this State, as well as for the public who must

unavoidably share in the consequences, and I fear it will be my lot to experience no small part of them.

I most heartily thank you for your assurances of assistance. I assure you, Sir, that it is a principal consolation to me under those disagreeable aspects which at present hang over our prospects of supplies; but I will hope the best.

Colonel Weissenfell's regiment was pointed out to me by General Washington to garrison Fort Schuyler. I have this morning submitted that paragraph of your letter to his Excellency's consideration.

General James Clinton is ordered to take the command at Albany. He left this place a day or two since. From his knowledge of that part of the country and attention to business I flatter myself he will seasonably take every step that may be necessary in that quarter.

We shall be in extreme want of a large quantity of boards and shingles at this post for covering the troops and for the security of the post. I fear the D. Q. M. G. will not be able to procure them, especially in season, without some extra assistance from your Excellency. Col^o Hughes will be able to inform you what quantity will be necessary, and I beg leave to solicit your assistance in such way as you may think proper.

We have no news of consequence at present. Whenever I obtain any shall do myself the honor of communicating it to you.

Joshua Smith is just sent here to be confined. Should you demand him, it is my duty immediately to deliver him.

I have the honor to be, with the greatest respect,

Your Excellency's most obed^t serv^t.

W. HEATH.

His Excellency Governor CLINTON.

WILLIAM HEATH TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.*

WEST POINT, NOV^r 4th, 1780.

DEAR GENERAL, — I have just received a letter from his Excellency Governor Clinton dated at Poughkeepsie the 3rd inst., in which is the following paragraph, —

“By two expresses who arrived last night from Albany I am informed that the enemy under Major Carleton are returning from Ticonderoga towards Skeensborough with a reinforcement of 500. Their force amounting now to 1,600, so that we hourly expect to hear of further depredations. I have again ordered out the militia to meet them and Gansevoort’s regiment is in that quarter.”

By the last accounts I had from Colonel Weisenfell’s reg^t they were at Schenatidy, waiting for the provisions which they were to escorte to Fort Schuyler. Governor Clinton has not asked for any further assistance. If your Excellency should think any necessary, upon receiving your pleasure it shall be ordered.

A complaint containing several charges was yesterday lodged against Colonel Hazen by Major Ried of his regiment. The Colonel is ordered in arrest and a general court martial will be appointed for his tryal.

I have the honor to be, with the greatest respect,

Your Excellency’s most obedient serv^t.

W. HEATH.

His Excellency General WASHINGTON.

WILLIAM HEATH TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.

WEST POINT, NOV^r 6th, 1780.

DEAR GENERAL, — I was honored with yours of the 5th a few hours since, that of the 31st ulto. not ’till this

* Washington’s answer is printed in 5 Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. iv. pp. 170, 171. — Eds.

moment ; where the latter has been I cannot tell, — its delay has been the cause of my troubling you more than once on one subject.

I shall take immediate measures for the security of Colonel Kossiuszko's chest ; it shall be lodged at my own quarters.

Preparations are makeing for takeing up the chain ; at present we are obliged to tend it to prevent its sinking, — should a severe snow storm take place it may be its fate.

I am happy to hear that flour is soon to come on for our relief, and most heartily thank your Excellency for your kind assurances that we shall constantly have a part of what you obtain. Our situation is peculiar ; the surrounding mountains do not afford that releif which those find whose situation is in a fertile soil and among wealthy farmers. Indeed, the troops being entirly destitute of money prevents there buying vegetables if they are to be found ; and the scantiness of their ration forbids any ability to barter. I request to be informed whether their is any prospect of the troops soon receiving the two months pay promised by Congress, for which they have been for some time impatiently waiting.

The ill clad and raged state of the troops, and great complaints on that account, also constrain me to represent their situation to your Excellency. There are many recruits who have been inlisted many months since for the war who have not yet received their clothing. This most materially wounds the service. If there are any quantities of clothing in the public stores which are to be distributed to the several State clothiers, I would request the proportion of them that will fall to the troops at this post as soon as your Excellency may think it convenient and proper, as many of the men engaged for the war will soon be unfit for duty unless some articles of clothing can be issued to them. At the request of the clothier

gen^l I have forbidden the State clothiers issuing any articles (except shoes) untill the distribution is made, but beg such distribution may be made as soon as circumstances will admit.

I will write to the eastern States and urge the necessity of their forwarding their respective quotas of supplies before the difficult season sits in, but I am pretty certain that under present circumstances a competent supply of flour for this post only cannot be obtained from this State, and I am sorry to hear that large quantities of wheat and flour are purchasing up all over the State to be sent to the eastward, and it has been hinted to me by one who knew that some of it was intended to be sent from America. To allow this will most certainly be ill policy, since it every day grows apparant that if the war continues, America will become more and more the seat of it.

I have executed George Baker, one of the criminals; he was charged with being concerned in a conspiracy to spike the cannon at Fort Schuyler in Sep^t last, and intending to desert to the enemy, and inducing others to desert. He was found guilty of the two latter. The other culprits under sentence, believe I shall pardon.

I have the honor to be, with the greatest respect,

Your Excellency's most obed^t serv^t.

W. HEATH.

P. S. I have just sent for Col^o Kossiuszko's chest; it was left without lock. M^{rs} Warren saies upon the detection of Arnold she burnt the plans lest their being found with her should raise a suspicion to her disadvantage. I shall order a further enquiry into the matter.

W. H.

His Excellency Gen^l WASHINGTON.

MARQUIS DE LAFAYETTE TO WILLIAM HEATH.

LIGHT CAMP, November the 13th, 1780.

MY DEAR SIR, — I intended having the pleasure to write you a long letter, and was expecting the confirmation of the southern news that my epistle might be somewhat interesting. But upon intelligence being receiv'd that some of our Rhode Island friends were on their way to camp, I hasten to impart to you this news, and to request your advices for the best route.

Marquis de Laval, Chevalier de Chattelux, Vicount de Noailles, Count de Charlus are those whom I know to be on the road, tho' they don't travel together, and Duke de Lauzun may be some time after them expected.

I have wrote to them on their passage at Hartfort, advising them to go to Fishkills and take the back road to head quarters for fear of accident. But least my letters had miscarried, I think you will do better to send your orders to the commanding officer at King's Ferry, as well as to Fishkills.

They will prefer arriving to my camp in order to go with me to head quarters. I therefore request you will advise them to take the back road to Paramus from where they must pass by my quarters near Totawa Bridge.

Be so kind, my good friend, as to order that on the coming of the afore mention'd gentlemen an express be immediately dispatch'd to me. The General has express'd to me a wish of knowing their arrival before hand.

You know their ranks in the French army; you know that each nation pays honors agreeable to its own regulation; you know my sentiments about appearing to advantage; you know every French officer as well, and the greatest part of them better than I do — what have

I to add but that, with all sentiments of regard and affection, I have the honor to be,

Yours.

LAFAYETTE.

I think that the advices as to the route may be left at the several posts for all French officers who will come that way, — it would not do to have them catch'd by Tories. My best compliments wait on the gentlemen of your family and my friends at West Point.

L. F.

Honorable Major General HEATH.

ALEXANDER McDOUGALL TO WILLIAM HEATH.

FISH-KILL, Nov^r 14th, 1780.

D^s SIR, — I was honored with your favor of the 5th instant. I know by long experience the perplexing nature of your command. It is a command by which you and every one who has it risques his reputation, without a probability of getting one. After all your toil you must be contented with a self approving conscience. It is, however, a consolation to you, that the Governor and the State will not only give you all the assistance in their power, but will sanctify every act of yours which shall be necessary for the safety of the State and the common cause. They do not entertain any idle jealousy of the army. And they have a favourable opinion of your prudence and attention to the rights of the citizens. But they fear your want of decision in some cases. Regard to you and your command induce me to write you thus freely. Since I received your favor I have spent some time with the Governor, and find by the gen^l state of the country that the scarcity of forage, and the too early approach of the winter, determines the inhabitants not to part with their forage for any money; and the

law will justify the taking but the surplus of what they may have over and above the necessary quantity for their own cattle. Judge then what must be your expectations above the mountains, without money and little public credit.

I doubt not Col. Hay has fully informed you on this subject. The season is now so far advanced that there is no danger of the enemy's attempting an attack on your posts by water. And in the winter of 1778, when he had 13,000 infantry, and the troops on this side of the river cantoned at these posts and Danbury, he had no enterprise. Not a single attempt was made on my guards at the Plains. If he should move by land your parties below will know it; if by water the prevalence of northerly winds will give you time to call in any parties you may have below. For these reasons you may forage with safety in West Chester county, where it can be spared and kept from the enemy. All you get is so much saved to the country, and will give your post great relief. Your cantonments and barracks are two months advanced to what they have been at any season. You have old and new hutts and barracks to cover a greater number of troops than you have or will have till the campaign opens, and many of them are in a position where they cannot want wood. What of this article you must absolutely have for West Point should be secured. A sufficiency for troops in the barracks to guard against surprise will put out of danger; the nearness of the cantonments to your principal post will otherwise save you from distress on account of wood. Provision and forage are the articles which you will be distressed for. The latter you may have; and I would have sufficient to support the cattle absolutely necessary for the village and West Point, without distressing a single friend to America within our lines. If the teams dont halt a night on the lines or where the forage is collecting, but move off

a stage whenever they are loaded, there can be no risque in sending them down. And the troops can retire if too hard pressed, to cover any teams returning, either going down or coming up. And if the dragons or firm young men on horse back look out on the flanks there is but little danger of our parties being taken in rear. This State in the best seasons is not a forage country, and these posts have always suffered for want of that article. In the winter of 1778 I had the most of my express business near the posts performed by soldiers. Three sober trusty men stationed at Bud's, on the post road, at the fork, and the like number at M^r Haight's, three miles below Fish-Kill, would carry your and the quarter master's letters with more dispatch in the winter than horses; with the expence only of a few pair of shoes extra, and some gills of rum. For distant express I was often obliged to rely on the country for impress. Last winter the snow and ice favored the transportation of hay for a great distant; but our credit was then far better than it is now; and such a winter as the last happens but once in forty. You will find that all the industry you are master off in collecting and œconomy in useing forage, when the spring opens, you will find it difficult to maintain the necessary express horses, at a season when you will be in most danger and require those aids most. You are responsible for the post, and will be made the scape goat in case of any misfortune happening to the post. And I question whether you will be able to finish your works this autumn. If not, how are you without forage before grass to support catle to carry on your works? The critical season with your post is always from the breaking up of winter till grass. In this period the enemy can move against you by water, and if the army or militia march to reinforce you, there will be no forage to support the catle on the road to supply them with provision. I found that many persons

vissitted the post with horses, who had but very trifling business there, which ruined the boats, fatigued the ferrymen, and importuned for forage. And some of these would be the very first to clamour on the loss of a post. I therefore ordered that none but express horses should be brought over, and those of officers returning from furlough, the latter to have but twenty four hours forage. And but one horse allowed to each brigade whenever grass failed or the troops went into winter quarters. The artificers often have horses sculking on the Point; and their servants by some means or other steal your forage. It is much easier to procure this article at a distance than near, besides the means of transportation. In short the matter is reduced to this, they must send their horses off at a distance or starve here and embarrass the public service. When I took the command of West Point last June sutlers, women, and children drew near one sixth part of the provision issued at that post; altho the garrison was then at short allowance. These abuses were corrected and strict garrison orders to prevent them. But the abuses did not rest there; vast quantities of flour was sent off and sold by the bakers. And a number of families unconnected with the garrison and bad women were maintained on provisions stolen by the soldiers out of the works. Since that period the command has been so often changed that I fear the same vermin have collected about you, which thro' hurry of other bussiness may have escaped your notice. The posts at Kings-Ferry are subject I fear to the same abuses. I forgot to mention that Co^l Samuel Drake, Major Strong, and the D. Judge Advocate will be able to advise you on the expediency of any necessary measures you may be obliged to take with West Chester county not strictly conformable to law. They know the temper of the State and the county perfectly. I have by this time trespassed on your patience; but I beg you to believe that

those loose thoughts proceed soley from a regard to you, the post, and the service; and if there should be any thing offensive in them, ascribe it to a heart that sincerely wishes your command easy and honorable. Nor do I wish you to consider this as an official, but a friendly, letter.

As for the cloaths for the soldiers I should not have asked for the order, but that they are seperated from their corps, and some of them will be so for the winter. But I suppose all the soldiers that want will draw some articles. I never wished for a partial distribution, but those lads have missed of articles furnished by their States which their fellow soldiers have had the benefit of. I therefore only desire now an order to draw for them such things as they absolutely want within the allowance of Congress; and I wish Elijah Ballacum of Col. Nixon's may be included. You may rest assured the order will not be abused.

If the cloaths are all issued from the store to the troops, while those men are from their regiments, they will neither get continental nor State cloathing, and must go naked thro the winter; or I must dismiss them and my horses and go without waiters. This I shall do with some of them before I sett off for Phi^a. Perhaps some articles in store may be useful to me in camp, altho there is no cloth fit for officers. I will go over there for that purpose, if you think proper to send me an order to the effect of my last request on that subject.

I am, d^r Sir, with respect, your humble servant.

ALEX^r M^cDOUGALL.

Major Gen^l HEATH.

WILLIAM HEATH TO ALEXANDER MCDUGALL.

HEAD QUARTERS, WEST POINT, NOV^r 15th, 1780.

DEAR SIR,—Your favor of the 14th instant came to hand this evening. His Excellency General Washington

in a letter of the 9th instant, just come to hand, has been pleased to express his pleasure that the clothing should not be issued untill the troops go into winter quarters, and a just and equal distribution is made. This is against my giving any orders, but supposing you may have occasion for one or two of your servants to attend you, I have ventured to give orders for two of them, leaving it to you to insert the names of those you choose. The others must wait untill the general distribution takes place.

With respect to your own I cannot give an order without specifying the articles and quantity for which it is given, which must be such as are specified in the resolve of Congress. I will with great pleasure give such an order when you honor me with a list of such articles as you wish to have.

I am, with great regard and esteem, dear Sir,

Your obed^t serv^t.

Major Gen^l McDougall.

W. HEATH.

P. S. Please insert the Col^o's name and the State to which the soldiers belong.

W. H.

WILLIAM HEATH TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.*

WEST POINT, Nov. 18th, 1780.

DEAR GENERAL, — I have been honored with yours of the 16th. The officers of the Jersey brigade assure me on honor that the recruits borne on the return exhibited by them were inlisted since the month of March last. I have therefore given them an order for the clothing, reducing the articles of shirts and hose to one of the former and a pair of the latter each.

* Washington's answer is printed in 5 Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. iv. pp. 177, 178. — Ebs.

Mr Ludwick has just finished the ovens, and this day began bakeing. An uneasiness is likely to arise which it is necessary to prevent. In the establishment of the ration the troops are to receive one pound of bread or flour per day. The former is supposed by many to be hard bread, since the pound of flour will make more than a pound of soft bread, and if the bread is slack baked still much more. Therefore, to do justice to the troops, I am informed that Major General McDougall when he commanded here directed that for one hundred pounds of flour 120 pounds of bread should be delivered by the bakers. Gen^l Paterson required five pounds more, but the former seems to have been considered as a standing rule by the artillery who have remained at the post. The other troops naturly fall in with them, and are forming an opinion that if they receive but one pound of soft bread, or indeed anything less than what has been the practise, they are injured. The officers have represented to me that an alteration at this time when the troops have so many discouragements to encounter will be attended with bad consequences to the service. Mr Ludwick informs me that if one hundred and twenty pounds of soft bread is delivered for a hundred pounds of flour, there will remain about ten pounds on every hundred towards defreying the expense of bakeing. For my own part I am fully of opinion that the 120 lb. ought to be delivered, but as an order published to that purpose by me may be productive of uneasiness in other parts of the army, I request your Excellency's opinion on the matter as soon as may be convenient. In the mean time I have verbally directed Mr Ludwick to deliver bread as has been before practised here untill your pleasure is known. In this way ten pounds in the hundred which now goes to the private bakers will be saved to the public, and uneasiness among the troops avoided.

Lt. Col^o Antill, with his wife and three or four children, have just come out of New York. He has applied to me for relief, being unable at present to provide for his family. I have given orders for one ration of provisions to be issued to his wife and one to the children collectively, making with his own four rations to be charged to his account until your pleasure is signified. I submit it accordingly.

Lt. Col^o Antill informs me that many Convention soldiers get to New York from Albemarle, Virginia, by a cross route, crossing the Delaware below Mud Island, and from thence to the cedar swamps near the seashore towards Sandy Hook, that provisions are secretly conveyed for them and distributed by the Tories, and that not less than six hundred have come to New York that way, that officers are appointed to receive and muster them, &c.

I have the honor to be, with the greatest respect,

Your Excellency's most obed^t serv^t.

W. HEATH.

His Excellency General WASHINGTON.

WILLIAM HEATH TO COMTE DE ROCHAMBEAU.

HEAD QUARTERS, WEST POINT, Dec^r 2nd, 1780.

DEAR GENERAL, — I have been honored with yours of the 3rd and 10th ult^o, and have had the pleasure of hearing from you by Count Chatsleaux and other officers of your army, who have made us very happy in visiting this post. We have not much news of consequence. Major Talmadge of the 2nd reg^t light dragoons has lately executed an enterprise on Long Island with an address and gallantry that has done him honor. Major Talmadge crossed the Sound with about 60 dismounted dragoons, marched to the south side of the island, and with his

troops thrown into three attacks on the morning of the 23rd ult^o assaulted, surprised and took Fort S^t George, made one lieu^t col^o, one cap^t, a surgeon, one subaltern, and fifty rank and file prisoners, destroyed the works, took and destroyed two armed vessels, and on his return mounted a few men of his detachment who made an oblique excursion and destroyed the king's magazine at Coram supposed to consist of 300 tons of hay. The party joined the detachment and the whole returned in safety, with one man only wounded. The enemy had six or seven killed and wounded. Yesterday the prisoners with the colours of the fort were brought here. The last week we made a grand forage towards King's Bridge, took three or four prisoners, brought of some cattle, and 125 loads of forage. No late news from the southward. Yesterday six brigades of the army arrived at this post, where they are to take winter quarters.

I frequently think of and mention you, my dear General, and the many agreeable hours spent while at Rhode Island.

With the most inviolable attachment, I have the honor to be, dear General,

Your obed^t serv^t.

Gen^l ROCHAMBEAU.

W. HEATH.

WILLIAM HEATH TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.

WEST POINT, Dec^r 3rd, 1780.

DEAR GENERAL,—I have been honored with yours of the 28th ulto., have made a distribution of the troops assigned to my command conformable to your pleasure where it has been signified, and in other cases have acted according to my own discretion, and hope it will meet your Excellency's approbation.

The New Jersey Line have gone to Pompton.

The New York reg^{ts} now embarking their baggage in order to proceed to Albany.

The Connecticut Line with Col^o Webb's reg^t, sent over to them, are huting back of Constitution Island to the north of Danforth's in very good ground and near the post. This Line has one reg^t assigned to the north redoubt, another to the middle redoubt, and a third to Constitution Island as their alarm post, and a detachment of eighty men hutted near the north redoubt to be at hand to support the guards in case of an attack untill the regiments assigned to the respective posts can arrive; the remainder of the Line to be ready to act as occasion may require. This Line mount a cap^{ts} guard at the Continental village, a cap^t guard at Constitution Island, and a subaltern's guard in the north and the same in the middle redoubt.

Massachusetts Line, drawing for their quarters, their disposition as follows:—

1st brigade to hut in the wood back of the garrison.

2nd brigade quartered in the great barrack.

3rd brigade to occupy the huts built by the New York reg^{ts}.

4th brigade quartered in the barracks in Fort Clinton, &c. This brigade have the defence of Fort Clinton and its dependencies. Two reg^{ts} of the Massachusetts Line are assigned to the defence of Fort Putnam, one to Fort Wyllis, d^o Fort Webb, d^o N. 1, d^o 2, do N. 3, do N. 4; the remainder of the Line to act as occasion may require.

The 2nd Rhode Island reg^t gone to hut near Robinson's mills.

The New Hampshire Line hutted in the Highlands north east of Soldiers' Fortune.

2nd dragoons gone to Connecticut, a detachment of one hundred and fifty regular troops with some State militia on the lines, with orders to patrol from Hudson's

River above Croten to Pine's Bridge and down to North Castle and Bedford.

Colonel Hazen's reg^{ts} gone to Fishkill, to do the duties at that post. Horses have been sent off. The six months levies discharging in the manner proposed by your Excellency.

I am sorry that it is not in my power to add that we are well supplied with provisions.

I have the honor to be, with the greatest respect,

Your Excellency's most obed^t serv^t.

W. HEATH.

His Excellency Gen^l WASHINGTON.

WILLIAM HEATH TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.*

GARRISON OF WEST POINT, Dec^r 9th, 1780.

DEAR GENERAL, — I am honored with yours of the 8th. The 100 barrels of salted beef, or as many tierces as will be equal to that quantity, the beef being chiefly in the latter, shall be forwarded to Albany as soon as a vessel can be procured for the purpose.

The invalids of the six months levies have been discharged, and for some days past six men of those worst clothed from each regiment; this having taken of the principal part of those worst clad, I have ordered three from each regiment to be discharged daily. This number shall be encreased or diminished as your Excellency may think proper. Some of the three years men who have one, two, and three months to serve are almost naked, and unfit for duty. They must be clothed or discharged; which of the two is your Excellency's pleasure?

Some doubts have arisen between the officers who are allowed to draw two rations in consequence of a resolve

* Washington's answer is printed in 5 Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. iv. pp. 180, 181. — Eds.

of Congress and the late order of your Excellency and the commissaries. The latter suppose the extra ration should be drawn on each issuing day or not at all. The officers suppose this extra ration designed to enable them to live more comfortably and that they may dispose of it for other species of provisions or vegetables, that if they draw it on every issuing day a great part of it may be lost or rendered of little advantage to them, whereas if they draw it at such times within the month as might give them an opportunity to exchange it it would be a real relief to them. I wish to be informed if your Excellency has any objections to the last mode, as it will be the same to the public and much more beneficial to the officers.

Some of the State clothiers have some articles of clothing and blankets sent to them by their States. The nakedness of the troops calls loudly for the issue of them. The present injunctions on the clothiers forbid it. Some of the officers think that by the ordnance of clothing whatever the State clothier can obtain from his State is to be distributed to the troops belonging to the State untill they are supplied, and in case of a surplusage that the surplusage is to be transferred to the public clothier, that if this is not attended to it will discourage the States from exertions to provide for their own troops. I have not the ordnance by me, but General Huntington thinks such is the tenor of it. Your Excellency can best determine, and whether it is to be strictly attended to.

I take the liberty to inclose Colonel Hazen's arrest of Major Reed.

Our situation *here* on account of provisions is really alarming, totally destitute of flour (except eight barrels which arrived this evening); the want of forage forbids any number of beef cattle being kept on the Point; the salted meat in the magazines but a trifle, if necessity should force us to use it. If a severe storm should hap-

pen, and the river be impassible but three or four days, the troops must inevitably suffer. I cannot learn that any flour of consequence is coming from any quarter. Large quantities of meat are puting up at a distance, but unless the season is uncommon the time is nigh when it will [be] very difficult to transport it to this post.

Two deserters with their arms from Robinson's corps came up this day. They both assert that the enemy are short of provisions and fuel, that but few of the Cork fleet have arrived, that their ration since the arrival of the fleet has been reduced, and at present is six pounds of bread p^r week, ten ounces of salt beef, and one jill of rum p^r day.

I have this moment received the enclosed from Col^o Hay, and a few hours since the one from Gen^l Clinton. I request to be informed by the return of the express whether the 100 barrels of beef is to be detained or forwarded with loss of time.

I have the honor to be, with the greatest respect,

Your Excellency's most obed^t serv^t.

W. HEATH.

His Excellency General WASHINGTON.

WILLIAM HEATH TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.*

GARRISON, WEST POINT, Dec^r 14th, 1780.

DEAR GENERAL, — I some days since signified to Col^o Hazen your opinion respecting the arrest of Major Reid. I this morning received his answer, copy of which I take the liberty to inclose.

We are now turning our attention to the salting a quantity of beef in bulk at this post. Col^o Hay has also proposed its being done in hutts at the Connecticut and New Hampshire quarters. The obstacles are the want of

* Washington's answer is printed in 5 Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. iv. pp. 181, 182. — Eds.

boards or plank for erecting or securing proper places. The materials cannot be procured here. A quantity of boards, &c, expected have been stoped at New Windsor or Newburgh. Perhaps they are wanted as much there as here; if they are not, I wish a part of them might be spared to compleat the store, as the beef cattle are every day wasteing, and the season nearly arrived when it will be very difficult, if possible, to execute the business.

I have the honor to be, with the greatest respect,
Your Excellency's most obed^t serv^t.

W. HEATH.

His Excellency Gen^l WASHINGTON.

WILLIAM HEATH TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.*

GARRISON, WEST POINT, Dec^r 17th, 1780.

DEAR GENERAL,— I take the liberty to enclose a representation made to me by M^r Frye, Ensign and Paymaster to the 9th Massachusetts reg^t. He has been a faithfull and diligent officer. I beg leave to submit his case [to] your Excellency's consideration. It will, I believe, be agreable to him to join the corps of invalids at Boston, if you think proper. I am informed that there are one or two other officers nearly in the same predicament; as they are not supernumerary they cannot retire on the benefit of half-pay.

Enclosed also is the proceedings of the former general court martial on the tryal of Joshua Ferris. They were obtained from Major General M^cDougall, and did not come to my hands untill this morning.

For some days we have been discharging six of the new levies p^r day from each reg^t. Their numbers are

* Washington's answer to this letter and the letters of December 18 is printed in 5 Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. iv. p. 182. — Eds.

now very much reduced. Shall we continue to discharge this number daily untill the whole are gone, which will be soon, or lessen the number, or desist from discharging any more untill their times expire?

I have the honor to be, with the greatest respect,

Your Excellency's most obed^t serv^t.

W. HEATH.

His Excellency General WASHINGTON.

WILLIAM HEATH TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.

GARRISON, WEST POINT, Dec. 18th, 1780.

DEAR GENERAL, — I have sent a detachment under the command of a capable, dilligent field officer to dismount, launch, and bring up the boats from King's Ferry, which have been lately brought there on carriages. I wish the quarter-master general or one of his assistants may point out the most proper place at Murderer's Creek for laying them up, that the officer on his arrival may meet his directions. It is not probable the boats will be at Murderer's Creek before to-morrow.

Two of the prisoners of war who lately made their escape from the provost at Fishkill have been taken up and brought back by a party of militia. One of the militia who took them represents to me that his son and a near friend of his are prisoners with the enemy. He requests that they may be exchanged for the prisoners retaken. I have answered him that I would mention it to your Excellency.

I have the honor to be, with the most perfect respect,

Your Excellency's most obed^t serv^t.

W. HEATH.

His Excellency Gen^l WASHINGTON.

WILLIAM HEATH TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.

GARRISON, WEST POINT, Dec. 18th, 1780.

DEAR GENERAL, — I am this evening honored with yours of the 16th. I will direct that Major Reid be brought to trial on Thursday next, and if the necessary evidence for compleating the trial cannot then be produced, and the court should think proper to postpone the trial, I will further direct that more rigid confinement than is common shall not be exercised.

I shall observe your directions respecting Joshua Ferris.

I hope if there are any boards to spare the Q. M. G. will order them down immediately, the slaughtering the cattle being suspended entirely on the compleating of the store. It was intended to have made use of another store untill the new one should be finished, but it is found to be so infested with rats as will expose the beef to almost certain damage and loss.

If any deserters should come out from the enemy they shall be sent up to Head Quarters without delay.

We are again short of flour. The troops received three quarters of a pound only to-day; to-morrow must be reduced to half a pound, and next day none, unless some should arrive. A quantity is expected down the river and from Ringwood if we are not disappointed.

It is still reported that a large embarkation is about to take place at New York, but their destination unknown. Col^o Delancy is also said to be collecting his corps. I have cautioned the officer on the lines to great vigilance and ordered the New Hampshire and Rhode Island reg^{ts} to be in readiness to advance to Crompond if necessary.

I have the honor to be, with the greatest respect,

Your Excellency's most obedient serv^t.

W. HEATH.

P. S. Count de Noalle and Count Damours are just arrived from Philadelphia, and lodge here this night. They are on their way to Albany. Count Chatleaux passed up on the west side of the river; the former on the east side.

W. H.

WILLIAM HEATH TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.

GARRISON, WEST POINT, Dec^r 28th, 1780.

DEAR GENERAL, — I was honored with yours of the 25th. Have ordered two detachments, each to consist of one captain, two subalterns, three serjeants, drum and fife, and fifty rank and file, to garrison Verplank's and Stony Points. The former I have given to Cap^t Sumner of the Massachusetts Line; the latter to a picked captain from the Connecticut Line; have given each very particular written instructions; have desired Colonel Livingston to put the nocommissioned officers and soldiers of the two regiments in motion to join their respective Lines. There are some commissioned officers who are arranged who will conduct them. Have also desired an accurate return of the names and rank of the officers on the day of dissolution to be transmitted to Head Quarters agreeable to your directions.

I have heard nothing from Cap^t Machin respecting the road you were pleased to advertise me he was directed to mark; as soon as he reports it to be done parties shall be immediately ordered to work on it.

I have been paying attention to the foraging below. Col^o Hughes still remains at Albany. I have sent for Major Campbell, his assistant at the village. He informs me there will be much difficulty in procuring teams, and if it were practicable, from the deepness of the roads it would not be the most advantageous, as the loads would be but trifling, and the fatigue to the teams very great.

With respect to the water craft, he informs me it is very uncertain. I have directed him to make every exertion in his power in every way and manner to get the forage off, and to Col^o Hull to afford such protection and assistance as may be necessary.

Col^o Hull wrote me yesterday that he should this morning at sunrise have all the teams in that quarter collected at Pine's Bridge, and properly covered for a forage. He also informs me that from the best intelligence he has been able to obtain the fleet has not sailed from New York.

If the Q. M. G. cannot devise some way and means for quickening the supplies of flour, salt, &c, we shall inevitably suffer. We cannot keep two days' allowance of the former on hand; of the latter there is not a sufficiency to secure the meat.

I have the honor to be, with the greatest respect,

Your Excellency's most obedient serv^t.

W. HEATH.

His Excellency General WASHINGTON.

P. S. Cap^t Watson, who has been a prisoner on Long Island, which place he left a week ago yesterday, this moment arrived here. He informs me the fleet sailed on the day he came away, between forty and fifty sail; the transports chiefly large ships; their destination variously conjectured.

W. H.

WILLIAM HULL * TO WILLIAM HEATH.

DANFORTH'S, NEAR PINE'S BRIDGE, Decemb^r 30th, 1780.

DEAR GEN^t, — Last evening a detachment from Col^o Delancey's corps, consisting of about a hundred foot and

* William Hull was born in Derby, Conn., June 24, 1753, graduated at Yale College in 1772, and died in Newton, Mass., Nov. 29, 1825. On the breaking out of hostilities with the mother country he entered the army, and served with distinction throughout the war.

fifty horse, marched as far as North Castle, where they made a short halt for refreshment, and this morning at daylight proceeded to Bedford New Purchase for the purpose of collecting the cattle from that quarter. Cap^t Prichard, who had taken a position near Middle Patten, having intelligence of this movement, marched early in the morning and at sunrise met their van at the above mentioned place. A skirmish ensued, and the enemy finding themselves opposed by troops who preserved their order immediately began their retreat. This company, being joined by a party of militia, pressed hard on their rear, kept up a constant fire, and obliged them to retreat with great rapidity. The pursuit was continued as far as Young's, where our troops being so inferior in numbers, and a large part of them destitute of shoes, and much fatigued, it was thought adviseable to desist. Cap^t Prichard informs me the enemy's loss to his knowledge was one killed and several wounded, which they carried off in a waggon which they took from an inhabitant. Altho' a number of his company had balls thro' their catouch boxes & cloaths, yet fortunately not a man was hurt. They retook four oxen and between thirty and forty sheep. The enemy's stock of plunder, which was the object of the expedition, was eight or ten head of cattle.

Their plan was to have collected the cattle from North Castle, Bedford, and the Middle Patten and returned by the way of Kingstreet, and the inhabitants inform me that the activity and good conduct of Capt. Prichard

In 1805 he was appointed governor of Michigan Territory, and in 1812 he was given command of the northwestern army. In this capacity he was not successful; and August 17 he surrendered Detroit to the British. For this he was tried and convicted by a court martial of cowardice and neglect of duty, and sentenced to be shot. The sentence was approved by the President, but was not executed. "The general verdict of succeeding generations," it has been said, "has been that General Hull was made a scapegoat for the blunders of the government, and that no case was made out for his guilt on either of the charges brought against him." See Appleton's *Cyclopædia of American Biography*, vol. iii. pp. 308, 309; Dexter's *Yale Biographies*, third series, pp. 444-448; *General Hull's Military and Civil Life*, by Maria Campbell and James F. Clarke. — Eds.

saved them at least a hundred head. They set fire to a number of houses in Bedford New Purchase, but all were happily extinguished. Their darling passion for plunder was as far gratified as their hast would admit. Altho' I am happy that the principal object of their expedition has been defeated, yet I feel exceedingly mortified that neither Cap^t Prichard or the parties of observation which I had sent below gave me such seasonable intelligence as rendered it possible to come up with them with the main body. This, however, is not imputable to any neglect, but to an unfortunate concurrence of circumstances.

It was nine o'clock this morning, before I was advised of the excursion, on which all the troops were ordered to assemble at Pine's Bridge, from whence I marched to the road leading from North Castle to Young's. On my arrival to the road near Shapaquaw Meeting House, the enemy had past more than two hours, and having intelligence that Cap^t Prichard was retiring, I imagined a pursuit would be fruitless. Had I received early intelligence of this movement, by a rapid march I could have thrown my detachment in their front, or at least on their right flank, with the most perfect safety, and should been able in all probability to have given a much better account of them.

It is unnecessary to mention the conduct of Cap^t Prichard, his company, or the militia who mustered on the occasion, in terms of commendation as the relation of facts places it in an honorable point of view.

I am, Sir, with the highest respect,

Your Honor's most obed^t serv^t.

W^m. HULL,

Lt. Col^o 3^d Mass^{us} Reg^t.

Hon^{ble} Major Gen^l HEATH.

WILLIAM HEATH TO WILLIAM HULL.

GARRISON, WEST POINT, Dec^r 31st, 1780.

DEAR SIR, — Your very agreeable favor of yesterday came to hand this afternoon. The conduct of Cap^t Pritchard and the brave men who were with him does him and them much honor; be pleased to inform him that his conduct has my fullest approbation. I can only lament that you did not receive early notice of the enemy's being out, as I think you would have given them reason to repent of their temerity. The spirit and behaviour of the militia does them much credit; their seconding the regular troops on such occasions will inspirit both and greatly deter the enemy from their plundering expeditions.

I shall in the morning transmit your letter to his Excellency the Commander in Chief, that he may be fully ascertained of every particular. With compliments of the season,

I am with great regard, dear Sir,

Your obed^t serv^t.

W. HEATH.

P. S. This moment received yours of this date; hope your bravery and precaution will afford new matter of approbation.

Lt. Col^o HULL.

WILLIAM HEATH TO WILLIAM HULL.

GARRISON, WEST POINT, JAN^{ry} 2nd, 1781.

DEAR SIR, — Your favor of yesterday came to hand this morning. I am happy to find that by your vigilance, precaution, and good conduct, the inhabitants are likely to enjoy protection, and the plundering enemy to be defeated and disapointed in their attempts.

His Excellency was pleased with Cap^t Pritchard's conduct. I have taken notice of it in the orders of this day.

I have ordered about three thousand carteredgedes to be sent to you, which you will dispose of as the service may require.

I am with great regard, dear Sir,

Your obedient serv^t.

W. HEATH, *M. General.*

P. S. Col^o Humphries and all his party are safely returned. By the violence of the winds they were driven down past New York, one boat as far as Sandy Hook, the others past between Staten Island and the main. The whole finally landed at Brunswick. One boat was lost but no person.

W. H.

Col^o HULL.

WILLIAM HEATH TO SAMUEL H. PARSONS.*

GARRISON, WEST POINT, Jan^y 5th, 1781.

DEAR SIR, — You have doubtless heard what has taken place in the Pennsylvania Line, viz^t, that they have mutinied and marched towards Philadelphia. As it is impossible to keep this a secret it is best it should be properly divulged to the troops. This is the wish of his Excellency the Commander in Chief who has just now been here. I therefore request you would be pleased immediately on receipt hereof to call the commanding officers of reg^{ts} together, and let them hand it to the commissioned officers, the commissioned to the non-commissioned, and they to the privates, for it is best not as yet to mention it [in] public orders — it may be men-

* For a notice of General Parsons, see 7 Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. ii. p. 154 n. — Eds.

tioned in such a way as to cause our troops to feel an ambition on the reflection of the exhibition of more virtue under equal trials. I wish you also to enquire of the officers the present temper of the men and whether there is any the least grounds to apprehend any disagreeable consequences happening in your Line.

The last accounts we have from the Jersies are that there had been a conversation between Gen^l Wayne and some of the serj^{ts}, that their grievances had been mentioned, and a redress of them proposed, that a part of them listēned to them, that there was a prospect of a division takeing place among them, and that some reg^{ts}, if not the whole, would return, that the officers were going to arm themselves, the militia of two counties were assembling, and if matters were not compromised before they got much further they would be treated in another manner. His Excellency in addition to his former representations to Congress has written them most pointedly and pressingly on this occasion, and does not doubt but every thing in their power will be done immediately. Please let me hear from you as soon as possible, and if it suits your convenience take fish with me to-morrow one o'clock, P. M.

I am with great regard, dear Sir,

Your obed^t serv^t.

W. HEATH.

P. S. It is said the common suffering of the army were not the only ground of the mutiny, that there was much uneasiness on account of their inlistments, which they assert to have been interpreted by their officers for a longer term then they engaged for.

Major General PARSONS.

WILLIAM HEATH TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.

GARRISON, WEST POINT, Jan^y 6th, 1781.

DEAR GENERAL, — Since I had the honor of seeing your Excellency yesterday, I have assembled the commanding officers of regiments and advised with them on the subject of the mutiny in the Pennsylvania Line and a proper communication of it to the troops here. I also wrote General Parsons on the occasion. I am happy to find that nothing at present is to be apprehended from any of the troops in this quarter on either side of the river, that many of the men treat the conduct of the Pennsylvanias with contempt and ridicule, and seem rather to pride themselves in exhibiting under similar sufferings a more soldierly behaviour. I wish if possible they may receive speedy relief and not be longer held under trials, which in any age or country I think would be thought too much for human nature long to struggle with. They may be easily pleased, and if their real wants only were supplied not a murmer would exist among them.

His Excellency Governor Hancock of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts has desired me to furnish him with exact returns of all the non-commissioned officers and men belonging to that Commonwealth with their description, by whom inlisted, &c, to serve during the war in the fifteen battalions, corps of light dragoons, artillery, and artillery artificers, or that are in any other corps not belonging to that Commonwealth.

I am takeing measures to obtain such returns from the regiments of infantry belonging to the Commonwealth, from Sheldon's light dragoons, Col^o Crane's reg^t of artillery, and Col^o Baldwin's artificers, and I shall be much obliged to your Excellency for information, whether there are any men serving in any other corps which belong to Massachusetts, in particular in Col^o Armand's, and

whether by any returns lodged with you their number can be ascertained.

I have the honor to be, with the greatest respect,
Your Excellency's most obedient serv^t.

W. HEATH.

His Excellency General WASHINGTON.

WILLIAM HEATH TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.

GARRISON, WEST POINT, Jan^y 6th, 1781.
7 o'clock, P.M.

DEAR GENERAL, — The enclosed this moment came to hand, which I beg to submit to your Excellency. This will be forwarded at gun firing in the morning. I detain the express, and wish your answer if agreeable by the return of the bearer that Col^o Hull may have notice as early as possible. Colonel Thomas mentioned the matter to me in a letter yesterday, but as it did not come from Col^o Hull I took no notice of it. If the plan should be approved, it will probably be necessary to furnish the militia with some ammunition. As to burning the houses at Morrissania, altho they are a nest for the nefarious enemy, yet as many of them belong to persons very friendly to our cause and who have been obliged to abandon their habitations, it may be not only impolitic but injurious to do it. However, I will advise, as your Excellency may think fit to direct. I must confess I do not well like the militia having so much to do in the matter, notifying and collecting men from three regiments among whom many disaffected persons reside, and upon the very lines of the enemy, is very likely to give air of the design, and a knowledge of the design will tend to blow the whole.

I have the honor to be, with the greatest respect.

Your Excellency's most obed^t serv^t.

W. HEATH.

His Excellency General WASHINGTON.

WILLIAM HEATH TO JOHN HANCOCK.

GARRISON, WEST POINT, Jan^y 7th, 1781.

SIR,—I have been honored with your two favors of the 18th and 21st ulto., the first enclosing the resolution of the Honorable the General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts respecting the address of the general officers of the New England Lines, and your Excellency's answer to the address of the officers of the Massachusetts Line, and the latter enclosing the resolution of the General Assembly of 25th Nov^r respecting a return of the men inlisted to serve during the war in the regiments, &c, belonging to the Commonwealth. The former were communicated to the officers; a call for the returns was published in the orders of yesterday. It will probably be some days before the returns can be collected, as some of the corps are at a distance; but as soon as they come to hand I shall do myself the honor of transmitting them. The fifteen regiments and the 16th commanded by Colonel Henry Jackson have lately been incorporated into ten. The returns of the infantry will be made conformable, but will exhibit what is specified in the resolve.

Many of the officers who drew monies for the recruiting service are gone home on the half pay list and on furlough, and some are here. I am confident your Excellency and the Honorable the Council have or will adopt the best and most easy mode for the settlement of the accounts of the officers. Such as are within the State, either as supernumeraries or on furlough, can easily attend at Boston. An auditor may be appointed to examine and report the accounts of those here who cannot go to Boston, if your Excellency should judge that proper.

I should think myself inexcusable if I did not in this

letter represent to you the present distressed and *alarm-
ing* situation of the army, were it not that General Knox
has been this day sent to the eastward by his Excellency
the Commander in Chief specially for that purpose.

With every sentiment of respect and esteem, I have
the honor to be your Excellency's most obedient serv^t.

W. HEATH.

His Excellency Governor HANCOCK.

WILLIAM HEATH TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.

GARRISON, WEST POINT, Jan^y 8th, 1781.

DEAR GENERAL, — I have been honored with yours of
yesterday; have instructed Lt. Col^o Hull conformably,
and ordered one hundred men from the New Hampshire
Line to reinforce him.

I have also ordered one hundred men under the com-
mand of a major to march this morning towards Pompton
to cover the public stores at Ringwood. The major is
instructed on his arrival at the most convenient and
advantageous place for that purpose to give notice to the
commanding officer of the Jersey Line of his being in
that quarter, and to aid that Line if any emergency
should render it necessary. I hope tranquility will soon
be established in the Jersies that this detachment may
return.

I have written to the commanding officer at King's
Ferry to be in the most perfect readiness for instant
defence, and to the guard-boats to keep the most vigilant
look-out.

Enclosed is a letter received the last evening from Lt.
Col^o Hull. It is principally respecting a set of plunderers
whose conduct is repugnant to the laws of humanity,
of honor and arms. I have once, some time since, repre-

sented the matter to Governor Clinton. He detests the practice, but no effectual remedy has yet been pointed out. As both the plunderers and the plundered are subjects of the State, if an officer interferes he subjects himself to a civil prosecution. Major Talmadge not long since informed that two were commenced against him. I beg leave to submit the matter to your Excellency to be laid before Governor Clinton or others as you may think proper.

I forward four newspapers sent me by Col^o Hull. They contain something curious.

I have the honor to be, with the greatest respect,
Your Excellency's most obedient serv^t.

W. HEATH.

His Excellency General WASHINGTON.

WILLIAM HEATH TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.

GARRISON, WEST POINT, Jan^y 10th, 1781.

DEAR GENERAL, — Enclosed is a letter I received yesterday from Lt. Colo. Hull. I wrote him an answer that he was not to put himself or the regular troops under the command of a militia officer. Whether upon the receipt of my letter Colonel Thomas would conclude to act as a volluntier under Colo. Hull or not I have not yet learnt. The heavy rain this day will probably suspend the enterprise untill the weather clears up.

In mine of the 8th I mentioned to your Excellency that I had sent a detachment towards Pompton. The strength of the garrison every day decreasing by the discharges of the levies whose times of service expire, and the necessary and constant hard duty, call for the return of that detachment as soon as the state of the public affairs will admit. Shall be much obliged to your

Excellency for information when tranquility is so restored in the Jersies as to admit of their recall.

A number of soldiers who have for some time been prisoners with the enemy have lately been exchanged, have come out and joined their regiments. From their long confinement in prison, injured health, and absence from their friends they are very anxious to obtain furloughs to visit their friends; is it expedient to indulge them? the return of these soldiers from captivity renders a few more articles of clothing similar to those lately drawn necessary, will the store admit of it?

Major Bauman was the last winter by your Excellency's permission to try some distances with shot and shells; some particular circumstances at that time prevented, — he still represents the great utility of it, and that by ascertaining the distances from some of the works, a great advantage will be acquired in the defence of the works should the enemy ever attack them.

Is it your Excellency's intention to make any alteration in the arrangment of the Massachusetts brigades in consequence of the late establishment of the rank of the regiments, or to let them remain as they are untill they quit their winter quarters?

The boats that lately went up the river after flour have returned. They brought down 169 barrels, and a craft brought down 120 barrels three days since; these quantities were all that could be obtained at that time. Col^o Hay wrote me that about 100 barrels would be ready at Esopus about this time, if boats could be sent up. They will be sent to-morrow. We have been this two days without beef cattle; nor do I yet learn that any are near at hand. Yesterday and to-day the commissary has been obliged to serve the troops from the provisions salted in bulk, the whole quantity of which is a mere trifle and will be gone in a few days. The

issuing of this beef is certainly bad policy, but necessity compels us to do it; half my time is spent in writing to agents, commissarys, and quarter masters to represent our wants and distresses and to urge the forwarding of provisions to prevent our starving.

I have the honor to be, with the greatest respect,

Your Excellency's most obed^t serv^t.

W. HEATH.

His Excellency General WASHINGTON.

WILLIAM HEATH TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.

GARRISON, WEST POINT, JAN^y 12th, 1781.

DEAR GENERAL, — I am just honored with yours of this date. I apprehend that every necessary step is takeing to have the detachment ready to march if they should be called for, but I fear we shall be rather straitned in obtaining the 1,150 rank and file proposed. The garrison will be extremely weak, if that number marches. I leave Lt. Col^o Hull with 100 men on the lines being apprehensive that a less number will not check the excursions of the enemy. The garrisons at King's Ferry will remain compleat, but what remains for the defence of these posts will be a very slender garrison. If the detachment march I shall be carefull to exercise every precaution you are pleased to point out.

General Howe never mentioned that any thing had passed between him and your Excellency on the subject of command, and as it was his by right and he appeared desirous to have it, was accordingly appointed. Was it not for that, considering the genius of the eastern troops, and fondness for their own officers, I should have thought it more politic to have sent General Parsons for the foregoing *reason only*, but this is a delicate matter and I touch it with caution. If I had known that any thing

had been said upon the subject I should most certainly have enlarged upon it.

I have the honor to be, with greatest regard, dear General,

Your most obed^t serv^t.

W. HEATH.

His Excellency General WASHINGTON.

WILLIAM HEATH TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.

GARRISON, WEST POINT, Jan^y 13th, 1781.

DEAR GENERAL, — The enclosed I received from General Parsons yesterday afternoon; its complection is very favorable.

The order for drawing and cooking four days provisions here yesterday turned the whole conversation of the troops on the subject of the detachment and conjectures of its design; such as have been reported to me I shall relate to your Excellency.

A woman in Colonel Greateon's reg^t was sent among the men to hear their conversation, returned and related that their sentiments were differant; some said the detachment was going to quell the Pensylvanians and conduct them to this place, that they would have no hand in it, as they were contending for a redress of greivances under which all are labouring and equally concerned; others observed that their conduct was detestible and that they ought to be humbled and that they were willing to aid in doing it.

About six o'clock, P. M., Colonel Putnam and Lt. Col^o Newhall came in and informed me that six companies of his reg^t upon being called upon to turn out and fetch up their four days provisions refused to do it, asserting that they had not received their pay, that they were destitute of clothes, and could not go on command, and would not draw their provisions or march from the Point

untill they received their pay and clothing. Lt. Col^d Newhall, to whom the serjeant made the report, directed him (the serjeant) to return and tell the men they must draw and cook their provisions, that it was the orders of their General and that his and their honor, as well as their duty and the public service, required it, upon which they drew their provisions. Colonel Putnam told me he would this morning pass through the barracks and address the men on their being called on command at this time.

My steward who went early this morning to the store, upon his return came into my chamber and informed me that the men, many of whom were at the store, in conversation declared that they would not march from the Point, unless they were first paid and clothed, that they had served a year without pay, and that they might be considered as free men, for that they were not obligated to serve for nothing.

Colonel Putnam has this minute come in ; he informs me that he has passed through the quarters of his reg^t where the men were generally cooking. They appeared to be in good temper ; at length he came to a soldier remarkable for his fidelity and steadiness, is inlisted for the war, and has lately returned from captivity. He addressed the Colonel, Sir, where is this detachment going ? The Colonel replied he could not certainly say, that the Commander in Chief had ordered it to be held in readiness, from which it must be concluded to be necessary. The soldier replied (and he is one detailed to for the command), " Order me where you will and to fight whom you please and I will cheerfully obey, except it be my brother soldier. I cannot fight him." The sincerity and heart felt emotion with which he spake this so overcame the Colonel that he was obliged immediately to quit the room. I have repeated the orders for every thing to be in the most perfect readiness for an immediate march, and apprehend the detachment are

ready whenever your Excellency shall think proper to order it to move; but by the great number of discharges of the levies whose times are out I am doubtfull whether we shall be able to march the whole number proposed, unless the post is left very naked.

I have the honor to be, with the greatest respect,

Your Excellency's most obed^t ser^t.

W. HEATH.

His Excellency Gen^l WASHINGTON.

WILLIAM HEATH TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.

GARRISON, WEST POINT, Jan^y 15th, 1781.

DEAR GENERAL, — The detachment ordered to be made and held in readiness to march has been compleatly ready for this day or two, and from the general representation of the officers a *very* good temper is every where predominant among the men; there is but little said by them, but the officers are of opinion that they will cheerfully obey any orders that are given.

I mentioned in mine of the 13th that six companies of Colo. Putnam's regiment had the evening before, by the report of a serjeant to Lt. Col^o Newhall, refused to draw their provisions; upon an enquiry made of the quartermaster of the reg^t, he asserts that there was no refusal in his hearing, and that the men drew their provisions with as much cheerfullness as usual. From which it is to be supposed that the serjeant's report to Lt. Col^o Newhall was groundless, or formed on the slight objections of some men which are frequently made among themselves on all occasions.

That the detachment may be in the most perfect readiness to march on the shortest notice, and to prevent their diminishing their provisions, they are taken off duty both of guards and fatigue at the Point. This stops the make-

ing the new road, and several other necessary peices of business. I therefore request your Excellency's opinion of the probability of the detachment's being called to march, that if the probability is against it the men may be put on duty as soon as may be thought convenient.

I have the honor to be, with the greatest respect,

Your Excellency's most obedient serv^t.

W. HEATH.

His Excellency General WASHINGTON.

WILLIAM HEATH TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.*

WEST POINT, Jan^y 16, 1781.

DEAR GENERAL, — I have been honored with yours of the 14th instant, to which I shall pay due attention.

With respect to that part of your Excellency's letter which refers to Fishkill, I scarcely know how to express myself. I am ever exceedingly cautious not to invade the jurisdiction of others; nither do I choose to have my own infringed. I did not seek the command at Fishkill, but as your Excellency was pleased, and that repeatedly, to declare it vested in me, it became my duty to exercise it. I therefore attempted to discharge the trust reposed in me. If I have been wrong, I stand ready to be corrected. If my conduct has been consonant to the established rules of discipline, I expect to be supported. I take the liberty to enclose copy of my instructions to Col^o Hazen and of my orders of the 13th. I have endeavoured carefully to inform myself of my duty. I think I know it, unless the doctrine that the quarter master's department is not subject to the command of the military be true.

In military command I conceive there must be one

* Washington's answer is printed in 5 Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. iv. pp. 189, 190. — Eds.

head or Commander in Chief supreme over all departments, the officers commanding at separate posts subordinate to him. If the Commander in Chief has the command of the Q. M. G. and his department, the commanding officer at every post has command of those officers of the staff department stationed at the post for the purpose of supplying it, and from hence I conclude that if your Excellency has the command of the Q. M. G., Col^o Hazen, who is your representative at Fishkill, has the command of the assistant Q. M. at that post. If this is denied, the military can have no jurisdiction over the staff from the Q. M. G. to the quarter master of a brigade, and will not this be imperium in imperio and a two headed monster whose offspring must be confusion and disorder? That there is a resolve of Congress empowering the deputies and assistants of the quarter master general to draw provisions on their own order is true, and without it they and the public service would suffer greatly, as at Danbury, Litchfield, Hartford, and many other places where the public service requires branches of the q. master's department to be stationed without any military officer, but can even this be supposed to exempt the staff department from the rules and regulations of the army or of any part of it or at any post where an officer commands? If in one instance, why not in all? I thought my instruction and order, altho simply expressed, to be founded on principals of reason and right. I think so still, and altho in obedience to your pleasure signified in your letter of yesterday, I have directed a suspension of the orders of the 13th, I still retain my own opinion of having done my duty. In justice to myself and every officer in the army, to the principals of discipline and military propriety, I cannot myself rescind what I have so done, and it is a matter in which, if I have acted with propriety, your Excellency's command is equally concerned, and I now request your

opinion whether my conduct has in this particular been right or wrong.

I am this moment honored with yours of this date. A number of boats [*torn*] returned here the last even [*torn*] flour. They will be sent up river again; but it would be much better and less fatiguing to the men to bring it from a distance in sail craft. The men are exceedingly fatigued when they return.

The public service is much injured on account of the want of paper, the muster rolls, pay rolls, and reports cannot be made out for want of it, and I am this day told that the officers have been obliged to cut the leaves out of their company books untill few are left.

I have the honor to be, with the greatest respect,

Your Excellency's most obedient serv^t.

W. HEATH.

His Excellency General WASHINGTON.

WILLIAM HEATH TO JOHN HANCOCK.

WEST POINT, Jan^y 17th, 1781.

SIR, — This will be presented by Lt. Colonel Command^r Brooks of the Massachusetts Line, an active and good officer. He informs me he has not the honor of being known to your Excellency. As he is much attached to you I beg leave to recommend him to your notice and civilities. Colonel Brooks will be able to give your Excellency any information you may wish to have respecting the situation of things here.

The revolvers of the Pennsylvania Line have given up the spies who were sent from the enemy to them. They were executed the last week. One was a British serjeant; the other a M^r Ogden, an inhabitant of New Jersey. Matters are in a train for an accommodation with the revolvers, without coming to extremities. This affair will, I fear, have a baneful influence on the future dis-

cipline of our army. All the New England Lines still exhibit a patience and soldierly behaviour which does them great honor, but it is putting every thing extremely to the hazard to let them remain even a day under their present severe trials. Our present prospects of provisions are very gloomy; without speedy relief we shall in a *few days* be reduced to extreme want.

I have the honor to be, with great respect,

Your Excellency's most obedient servant.

W. HEATH.

His Excellency Governor HANCOCK.

DAVID HUMPHRYS* TO WILLIAM HEATH.

HEAD QUARTERS, 10 o'clock, P. M.

Jan^y 21st, 1781.

DEAR SIR,— His Excellency has just heard of the revolt of the Jersey troops, and directs me to inform you that he is determined at all hazards to put a stop to such proceedings, which must otherwise prove the inevitable dissolution of the army. He requests therefore you will be pleased to order a detachment to be made out from the garrison and other troops under your command, of five or six hundred of the most robust and best clothed men, properly officered and provided for the purpose. The General expects the detachment will be immediately compleated and equipped. And altho it should leave the posts very weak, he thinks there will be no risque, as the

* David Humphrys, or Humphreys, as he spelled his name later in life, was born in Derby, Conn., July 10, 1752, graduated at Yale College in 1771, and died in New Haven Feb. 21, 1818. After graduating he taught school for a time, and in the summer of 1776 he joined the American army, serving down to the end of the war. For the last two years and a half he was an aid de camp to Washington. In 1784 he was appointed by Congress Secretary of the Commissioners for negotiating treaties of commerce with foreign powers. In 1791 he was appointed minister to Portugal. From this post he was transferred to Spain, where he remained until 1801. After his return to America he engaged in various business operations. In his own time he had a considerable reputation as a poet, and he also published numerous pamphlets. See Dexter's *Yale Biographies*, third series, pp. 414-420; *Appleton's Cyclopædia of American Biography*, pp. 312, 313. — Eds.

command of Major General Parsons will be returned before the enemy can take any advantage of the movement. His Excellency will be at the Point in the morning.

I have the honor to be, dear Sir,

Your most obed^t and very hble. servant.

D. HUMPHRYS, *A. D. Camp.*

Major Gen. HEATH.

WILLIAM HEATH TO JOHN HANCOCK.

WEST POINT, Jan^{ry} 22nd, 1781.

SIR,— The Hon^{ble} the General Assembly of the State of Massachusetts on the 30th Sep^r, 1779, among other things resolved, “ That a bounty of 300 dollars in addition to the bounty and subsistence money allowed by Congress be paid to each non-commissioned officer and soldier who *has* or shall inlist as one of this State’s quota of the continental army during the continuance of the present war between the United States of America and Great Britain,” and soon after sent a committee to the army with a sum of money for the purpose. On the arrival of the committee at this place many of the officers advised the paying the 300 dollars first to the men who had enlisted. On account of the insufficiency of the monies, and some other considerations, I objected to that mode and advised that the money should be solely applied in paying the bounties to those who might thereby be induced to reinlist. When monies arrived a second time, the reinlistments having been very successfull, I still advised the money’s being appropriated to same purpose only. On the arrival of the third sum, the spirit for reinlisting having a little abated, and the old soldiers growing very uneasy at not receiveing their 300 dollars, I directed the officers to pay them 100 dollars each, and to assure them the State would as soon as possible fulfill their promise. The officers accordingly paid to some 100

dollars, to others 200, and I believe to some the 300, as will appear upon the settlement of their accounts. Considering that the soldier builds much on the fulfillment of every promise which is made him, and that his feelings are wounded and the service injured where they are procrastinated, on the 15th of May last in a letter I had the honor to address to the General Assembly I advised the paying as soon as possible what remained due of the 300 dollars, which I then observed would not require a large sum in addition to what the officers had received. I did not know but that it had been done untill soon after my arrival here I was informed that it was not. The men have now grown exceedingly uneasy about it, and are applying to know why they are kept out of it. Their uneasiness will naturly encrease when they hear of the large bounties which are given to those who are now inlisting, when they reflect on the great disparity of what they received or are to receive, and that a part of the former has been deducted on the settlement of their accounts, and the latter withheld from them. If the promise to a soldier is not most punctually fulfilled, it were better never to have made it. Permit me, therefore, to request that what yet remains due of the 300 dollars may be paid as speedily as possible. The sufferings of the army are only paralleled by their patience. After all that can be done for your army, there will be many sufferings which must be borne, but the principals of humanity, policy, and justice dictate that they be lessened as much as possible.

With every sentiment of respect and esteem, I have the honor to be

Your Excellency's most obed^t servant.

W. HEATH, *M. General.*

P. S. Since writing the above information is received that the Jersey Line revolted the day before yesterday.

His Excellency Governor HANCOCK.

WILLIAM HEATH TO COMTE DE ROCHAMBEAU.

WEST POINT, Jan^y 29th, 1781.

DEAR GENERAL, — I was duly honored with yours of the 22nd ult^o.

I hope you have passed an agreeable winter at Rhode Island thus far in health and plenty. We have been several times cheered in this dreary world by the friendly visits of some of the gentlemen of your army.

You must long agoe have heard of the revolt of the Pennsylvania Line and probably since of the Jersey Line ; both have been quieted.

On the 22nd instant we made an attempt on Col^o Delancy's corps at Morrissania. The enterprise was well conducted and succeeded ; besides a number of the enemy who were killed, upwards of fifty were taken prisoners. The pontoon bridge over Harlem River under the fire of the enemy's cannon at Laurel Hill near Fort Washington was cut away, all the enemy's hutts burnt and about one hundred head of cattle brought off. The troops returned here yesterday. They have performed out and returning about one hundred miles march ; we had one subaltern, one drum, and ten privates killed ; one captain, one serjeant, and eleven privates wounded.

By the last accounts from the southward Arnold was in Virginia, had taken possession of Williamsburgh, where he will doubtless plunder large quantities of tobacco ; plunder is his darling object.

As Major Lyman will have the honor of delivering this to your Excellency, he will be able to give any particulars you may wish to know respecting our situation, &c.

With the most inviolable attachment, I have the honor to be, my dear General,

Your most obedient serv^t

W. HEATH.

General ROCHAMBEAU.

WILLIAM HEATH TO CALEB DAVIS.*

WEST POINT, Feby 2nd, 1781.

DEAR SIR, — The day before yesterday I was honored with yours of the 30th Decem^r. It has been a long time on the road.

I am very happy to hear that money may soon be expected for the releif of your troops. The situation of the army I dare say has been fully represented to the General Assembly before this time by General Knox. I will rest in hopes that we shall soon experiance the salutary effects of the doings of the Assembly upon it. The temper and conduct of all the eastern troops does them the greatest honor; under similar or greater sufferings than others they exhibit the most soldierly behaviour. The detachment that was sent to quell the mutineers of the Jersey Line did it effectually. Two of the ring-leaders were executed on the spot, and the rest forced to an unconditional submission. This was done at the very time when we were executing an enterprize on the enemy at Morrissania, which succeeded. Movements more fortunate could not have happened, for the enemy were flattering themselves that the New England troops would follow the example of the others and that a revolt would become general. They have been convinced that we had force and unanimity sufficient to strike them a blow under the muzzels of their cannon, and to restore tranquility in the Jersies, and that their low attempts of bribery and seduction have been rewarded by hanging their messengers.

Five hundred and thirty coats is all your Line have received this year; they have received a number of baize

* Caleb Davis was a prominent and influential citizen of Boston, a deacon of the Hollis Street Church, first Speaker of the Massachusetts House of Representatives under the Constitution, and a Presidential Elector. — Eds.

overalls and vests too slimsey to wear long. Col^o Smith this moment from Springfield informs me that fifty hogsheds of woollen clothing was at Springfield and had been there near a month. This probably is the clothing you mention to have been some time since sent on from Boston.

I thank you, my dear Sir, for your sympathy under my embarrassed situation. It has been truly so; never in my life did I endure more than I have done of late. I find it impairing my constitution fast. This and the situation of my family, from whom I have been too long absent for their interest, will compel me to retire from the army, but it will be offering violence to my feelings when I do it.

I hope the Mars will arrive safe and well laden with clothing; it is much wanted by both officers and soldiers. I wish there might be particular care taken to have the clothing well made. I think it would be well for some person to inspect it before it is sent on, in particular the shoes; there is the greatest imposition in this article, they are generally made too small, are of bad leather, and badly made, consequently last but a few days.

I shall trouble you with a line whenever opportunity offers, and shall be happy in being honored with a return from you. I want to ask you a thousand questions. I fear you are in some danger of falling into another extreme with respect to your taxes; having too long omitted taxing, I fear you will now tax too much. You are fully sensible that much address is necessary, to convince mankind that there is a necessity for you to put your hands into their pockets to take their money, or induce them to do it themselves. If this is not attended to and the taxes are greater than the ability of the bulk of the people can bear you are in danger of breaking their spirits; the consequences are obvious.

Please present my compliments to M^{rs} Davis and family, and all friends in your circle.

With every sentiment of respect and esteem, I have the honor to be, my dear Sir,

Your obedient servant.

W. HEATH.

Hon^{ble} CALEB DAVIS, Esq^r.

WILLIAM HEATH TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.*

WEST POINT, Feby 7th 1781.

DEAR GENERAL, — The enclosed was handed to me by Lt. Col^o Command^r Sprout. From what I can learn the case is briefly this. Cap^t Smart was a captain in and paymaster to the 13th Massachusetts reg^t, was in a bad state of health and desired on that account to quit the service. He is so good an officer that the reg^t were loath to loose him and advised him to get leave to retire for the recovery of his health, which he did; but has not been so fortunate as to recover it, and is determined to resign his commission. He is not able to come on to settle his accounts and by reason of his not doing it and geting a discharge, the promotion of a captain is prevented, which gives uneasiness to those whose right it is to receive promotion. To avoid the inconvenience, and to prevent the continuation or increase of uneasiness, Lt. Col^o Sprout and Major Porter will give bonds for the settlement of Cap^t Smart's acco^{ts}, if, on that condition it should be thought admissible to discharge him previous to the settlement of his acco^{ts}, which is submitted for your Excellency's determination.

Enclosed also is a petition from Serjeant James Lurvey, of Col^o Putnam's regiment, who has for this two or three years past been coxen of the commanding officer's barge at this post, and was compelled by Arnold to convey him on board the Vulture sloop of war at the time that perfidious officer went to the enemy.† The conduct of

* Washington's answer is printed in 5 Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. iv. pp. 194, 195. — Eds.

† For some account of James Lurvey, see 2 Proc. Mass Hist. Soc., vol. xii. pp. 346-348. — Eds.

Lurvey at that time is fully known to your Excellency. He informs me that in the month of Novem^r last he presented a petition to you, and had encouragement from one of your aids de camp that something should be done for him, either an indulgence to serve in the horse for a certain time or some other consideration. He now wishes that he may be allowed to procure a man to take his place, or as the procurement of a man would require all the earnings of his almost six years service, would serve cheerfully for the term of one year longer, if at the expiration of that time, you would please to grant him a discharge. As he is a man of strict integrity, the most unshaken bravery, and warmest attachment to his country, I am compelled to lay his petition before your Excellency for such decision as you may think proper.

There are many vacancies for ensigns in the Massachussetts Line; are they to be filled, and in such case what mode is to be observed in doing it?

There is a considerable number of prisoners in the provost at Fishkill; if we are to judge from past experience, it is not a place of the greatest security, and from the nature of the adjacent country and nearness of the enemies' posts prisoners who at any time escape are rarely retaken. It therefore seems expedient if any advantage is to be derived from the prisoners taken, if sent to that place, that they be either soon exchanged, removed farther, or a better place of security be provided. I have frequently given orders for the repairs of the provost and the better securing it, but have been repeatedly informed that the construction of it forbids it being rendered properly secure.

I have the honor to be, with the greatest respect,

Your Excellency's most obed^t serv^t.

W. HEATH.

His Excellency General WASHINGTON.

SAMUEL H. PARSONS TO WILLIAM HEATH.

CONNECT^T HUTTS, 7^h Febr^y, 1781.

DEAR GENERAL, — I thank you for the newspaper and a letter from Nathan Frink to you. Should I suffer my feelings to be wounded by the calumniating tongue of every reptile who has crept into the enemy's band of thieves, I should live an unhappy life and should conceive myself paying a tribute to an importance of character which they never possess'd. No answer therefore is the best reply to them.

We captured a negro slave belonging to Nathan Frink in our late excursion to Morisania, as much his property as his horse or his sword, and he has been sold by Q^r Master Day under the direction of Col^o Hull for the benefit of the detachment. I conceive the case as essentially differs from the case of an officer's servant, as property in a horse differs from the interest a man has in his day-labourer.

I am, d^r S^r, y^r obed^t serv^t.

SAM^l H. PARSONS.

P. S. Sam^l Brown mentiond by Frink is parol'd for three months, on the sollicitation of our friends and was at home before Frink wrote you.

S. P.

WILLIAM HEATH TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.

WEST POINT, Febr^y 8th, 1781.

DEAR GENERAL, — I have been honored with yours of the 5th instant respecting the staff department. Am happy to find the measures I had adopted have in so many instances received your approbation as expressed in your sentiments. Am sorry that in one instance I should be so unfortunate as to be thought erroneous by your

Excellency ; and as it is not only a laudable wish, but an incumbant duty, to vindicate our conduct and intentions when they are thought reprehensible, in a proper manner, I pray you will be pleased to allow me to observe that my order of the 13th Jan^{ry} was not issued upon any diffidence in the integrity or veracity of the staff department, nor was it my design to deprive them of any powers granted to them of drawing orders on their own returns, nither did I delegate to Colonel Hazen a power to alter or refuse countersigning any order thus presented. My motive was nearly tantimount to the idea expressed in the last paragraph of your letter, in case upon investigation the power of giving orders for provisions, &c, should appear too much diffused, and as Col^o Hazen's quarters were situated in the midst of the several departments, and he had informed me he should have no objection to the trouble that would be naturly occasioned thereby. My order was issued solely with a view to regularity, that if there should be a scantiness of provisions or stores on hand, as was at that time unfortunately the case, there might be an equal issue to the several departments and troops at the post, which would not probably be the case if the power of drawing was vested in many, as he who first heard of the arrival of provisions might send and draw the greater proportion, altho not more than entitled to, than the quantity in store would afford to others, which might be represented if a knowledge of all the draughts passed through one hand. My sole motive has been to seek the public good, and I pray you will be assured that such it will still be, and in the present case as nearly conformable to your pleasure signified in your letter as I can pursue it.

I have the honor to be, with the greatest respect,

Your Excellency's most obedient serv^t.

W. HEATH.

His Excellency General WASHINGTON.

WILLIAM HEATH TO JOHN HANCOCK.

WEST POINT, Feb^y 13th, 1781.

SIR, — I have the pleasure of acquainting you that we have this moment received an account from the southward that may be depended on, viz^t, that on the 17th ulto. an action happened near Peedee between a body of American troops under the command of General Morgan and about one thousand of the enemy under the command of Lt. Col^o Tarlton. The enemy were totally defeated, and pursued upwards of twenty miles. Our loss was inconsiderable, not more than 12 killed and 60 wounded, The enemy had ten commissioned officers and one hundred rank and file killed, and two hundred wounded, twenty nine officers and 500 rank and file taken prisoners. Two pieces of artillery, 2 standards, 800 muskets, one traveling forge, 35 baggage waggons, 70 negros, 100 dragoon horses, with all their music are trophies of victory. This is a most fortunate circumstance at this time, and on which I most sincerely congratulate you.

I have the honor to be, &c.

W. HEATH.

P. S. It is said not more than 800 Americans were engaged.

Governor HANCOCK: a copy to the Speaker.

WILLIAM HEATH TO HUGH MAXWELL.*

WEST POINT, Feb^y 15th, 1781.

DEAR SIR, — Your favors of the 12th and 14th with the newspapers came duly to hand, for which I thank you.

* Hugh Maxwell was born in Minterburn, Ireland, April 27, 1753, in which year his father came to America and settled on a farm in Bedford, Mass. He was wounded at the battle of Bunker Hill, and afterward served throughout the war. He died on a return voyage from the West Indies Oct. 14, 1799. See Bugbee's *Annals of the Mass. Society of the Cincinnati*, p. 354. — Eds.

You were right with respect to the exchange of prisoners; it is the duty of the commissary of prisoners to negotiate exchanges.

As Cap^t Pritchard's detachment is diminished, his situation requires more precaution. I am glad to find you have inculcated on him the necessity of it, and wish you to continue to do it. Situated as he is, an officer must depend more on the vigilance, precaution, and address of his officers and men than on their force; he may evade and deceive the enemy when the debility of his detachments may forbid his fighting them.

General Warner and Colo. Ashley arrived yesterday from Massachusetts with a sum of hard money for the troops of your State. I congratulate you on the good news from the southward, which may be depended on, vizt., that on the 17th of Jan^{ry} Lt Col^o Tarlton, the famous British partizan, attacked General Morgan who commands the light troops of Gen^l Green's army between Broad River and the Cowpens in Carolina. Tarlton attacked with great impetuosity, but was repulsed, totally routed, and pursued upwards of 20 miles. The enemy had ten officers and upwards of 100 rank and file killed, and 200 wounded, 29 officers and 500 men taken prisoners, with 2 field peices, 2 standards, 800 muskets, 35 waggons, one traveling forge, 100 dragoon horses, all their music, &c. This will give a happy turn to our affairs in the South.

Please endeavour to collect all the news and all the papers you can from below.

I am with great regard, dear Sir, your obed^t serv^t.

W. HEATH.

Major MAXWELL.

WILLIAM HEATH TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.*

WEST POINT, Febr^y 28th, 1781.

DEAR GENERAL, — I am honored with yours of yesterday, am happy to hear that the prospect of a supply of provisions is so favorable. The fatigue men and if possible six carpenters shall be sent the day after tomorrow to work on the logs above Newburgh.

I some days since reduced the troops on the lines from two to one hundred rank and file, and in consequence of your pleasure signified in yours of the 23rd I gave orders for reducing them to fifty rank and file. I have this day had a committee from the inhabitants below representing the great danger to which they must be exposed in case the detachment is reduced to 50 men, as in such case Col^o Delancy will venture with his corps to ravage Crompond and its vicinity at present full of cattle, grain, &c. This will oblige the inhabitants friendly to our cause to remove further back, consequently the traveling by King's Ferry will become unsafe. They request that if after all that is said the detachment must be reduced to 50 men that the 100 may remain untill they can address the Legislature now sitting at Albany to raise a body of militia for their defence. I think Major Maxwell may remain where he is with 100 men without any hazard to these posts, as he is at all times ready to move and can reach this place as soon or sooner than the enemy by land, or in case they come by water before they can pass the points and disembark. It will cover the country, give protection, quiet to the inhabitants and their property, and render traveling safe by King's Ferry, and save the expense of raising a corps of militia. If your Excellency approves of it, he shall remain; if not, the detachment shall be reduced to 50 rank and file.

* Washington's answer is printed in 5 Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. iv. p. 202. — Eds.

Major Maxwell has orders in case the enemy come up in force, either by land or water, to repair to this place with all possible dispatch with his whole detachment.

Justice Honeywell informs me that a man came up from Philips's the last night who reports that there is great confusion in New York, both among the soldiery and inhabitants, that it was said six regiments were to embarke last Thursday, their destination not known, that it was reported in the city that a fleet of French merchantmen had arrived in Chesapeak, but that they dared not go up on account of Arnold's being above, but the consternation and confusion indicated something more formidable than merchantmen, that it was said the Hessians were to do the duty on the lines at Kingsbridge, all Delancy's corps have been called into Morrisania, &c.

I have the honor to be, with the highest respect,

Your Excellency's most obedient servant.

W. HEATH.

P. S. We have several soldiers taken down with the small pox; they will be removed and all possible care taken to prevent a spread of the infection. Two or three persons who are supposed to have taken it I have permitted to be inoculated, the latter are of the Connecticut Line.

His Excellency General WASHINGTON.

WILLIAM HEATH TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.

WEST POINT, March 2nd, 1781.

MY DEAR GENERAL, — The enclosed was put into my hand the last evening, altho the field officers who were appointed to command the detachment which march'd on the 19th ulto. were appointed in my orders, yet as they were those your Excellency was pleased to name in your letter of the 17th I am induced to communicate the en-

closed to you. I have learnt that the officers of the other Lines have thought themselves equally hurt; as the affair is laid open I cannot smother my own feelings which have been exceedingly wounded under some considerations on this occasion. I never will admit an idea to enter my breast that it is possible for any officer in the army, especially a foreigner, to have the interest or the honor of *my Country* more at heart than I have, and if the conduct of my General in any instance should discover that he places less confidence in me, it cannot fail to make a painfull impression.

I have the honor to be, with the most inviolable attachment, and perfect respect,

Your Excellency's most obed^t serv^t.

W. HEATH.

His Excellency Gen^l WASHINGTON.

WILLIAM HULL TO WILLIAM HEATH.

NEW TOWN, March 8th, 1781.

DEAR GENERAL,—A full persuasion that you would wish to be made acquainted with the situation of affairs in the State induces me to think that this letter will not be unacceptable. Altho' very great exertions have been made and are still making by the several towns to recruit the proportion of men assigned them, yet I am sorry to inform you that they have not been attended with better success. From fifty to a hundred pounds hard money is offered as a bounty, and few are found to engage even for so ample a consideration. Not more than a quarter part of this State's quota, I am persuaded, is now engaged. The six and nine months service is the cause of our present embarrasments, and those men who design to be soldiers are now waiting for as large a bounty for six months as is offered for three years. Could they once be persuaded that this would not be the case, they

would, I think, immediately engage. Not only government but the people at large appear to see the necessity of an army, and I flatter myself will use every means to obtain it. On the arrival of the 1st of March not a farthing of money was in the treasury, to discharge the first depreciation note. The Court has since made the first, if in the hands of the officer or soldier to whom it was given, receivable for the confiscated estates which are to be sold in the course of a few days. This will make it, I think, as good as gold and silver. Yesterday the Judges of the Superior Court determined the value of the note, but it is not as yet published. The articles on which they are founded are at least twenty five p^r cent. higher than they were fixed in the Monopoly Act.

In future, I hope, matters will be in a better train. They are adopting method and system. They have calculated the expenses of the year in specie, which amounts to a little more than nine hundred thousand pounds, and have pointed out the ways and means of discharging it, (viz), — by a loan, by sales of the confiscated estates, by duties on trade, by a lottery, and taxes on poles and estates. Exclusive of six p^r cent interest, a bounty of four p^r cent is given for all money lent the public. The whole debt of the State is to be consolidated and placed on the same footing, and the interest to be punctually paid.

Gen^l Lincoln has appointed me one of a committee to examine the different magazines in the State, and report their situation. This service will necessarily take up so much time that I fear I shall not arrive by the first of April; if I should not, I hope this will be a sufficient apology.

Last evening I had the honor of calling at your house, and am happy to inform you that M^{rs} Heath and family are well.

I am, Sir, with the highest respect,

Your most obed^t serv^t.

W^m HULL.

Honb^{le} Major Gen^l HEATH.

WILLIAM HEATH TO CALEB DAVIS.

HEAD QUARTERS, WEST POINT, March 16th, 1781.

MY DEAR SIR, — A few recruits from your Commonwealth have arrived. I am exceedingly sorry to find some of them totally unfit for service, men who are ruptured, infirm, old, negros, and some children among the few that have arrived. When enormous bounties are given it is a pity that the men are not such as are capable of enduring those hardships which ought [to] be borne by the soldier without his being sent to the hospital on every slight cold he takes, and after remaining there some time be transferred to the corps of invalids or discharged.

I observe by the public papers that the Mars has arrived. I fear that she has not brought that ample supply of clothing for the army which has been wished for. I assure you, my dear Sir, that without some relief your officers will very soon be so destitute both for clothes and money as to be unable to appear in company.

The fleet and troops which sailed from New York the last week returned last Sunday. It is reported that they received intelligence that the traitor Arnold and all his troops were taken prisoners which caused their return. Be that as it may, such I believe is or will soon be his fate. The enemy are certainly in great confusion and consternation at New York.

A party came out last Monday morning on the Jersey side of the Hudson, and advanced within about three miles of our block house at Dobbs' Ferry. The militia turning out with their usual spirit attacked, repulsed, and pursued them untill they retook all the cattle and plunder that had been taken except two horses.

I hope the exertions of this campaign will with the smiles of Heaven compleat our warfare. None can more

ardently wish it than I do. Compliments to M^{rs} Davis, family, and all friends.

With the highest sentiments of respect and esteem, I have the honor to be, my dear Sir,

Your obed^t serv^t.

W. HEATH.

HON. CALEB DAVIS, Esq^{re}.

WILLIAM HEATH TO GEORGE CLINTON.

HEAD QUARTERS, WEST POINT, March 17th, 1781.

SIR, — The unbounded licentiousness of a number of persons who lurk about the lines is become so intollerable that duty to my country as well as a regard to the honor of arms obliges me to make a representation to your Excellency. These people, some of whom stile themselves refugees, and others who at stated times collect from the country, and among them some, I am informed, who were deserters from the enemy, proceed below the lines by routes where they evade our guards, and there insult, whip, beat, and at some times almost hang till dead the inhabitants untill they distort from them their mony, &c. This has of late driven a very considerable number to join the enemy for protection and even to take up arms, and is likely to drive away many more if not checked. Indeed, the wanton, plundering spirit which now prevails will make more recruits for the enemy than all their recruiting officers put together. It will beside contaminate the morals of the whole adjacent country, will produce a disposition and thirst to plunder all ages, sexes, and denominations, marked with such stains of abuse as will be a disgrace to our country and our arms. I know your Excellency detests such practises, and I flatter myself the greater part of the good people of the State of New York de-

test them also; but I fear there are some few who do not rebuke if they disapprove them. I wish there may not be some who encourage them. If this is not unjust, is it not exceedingly impolitic? To your Excellency's decision I beg leave to submit it for such remedy as you may think proper.

I have the honor to be, with the highest respect,
Your Excellency's most obed^t serv^t.

W. HEATH.

Gov^r CLINTON.

WILLIAM HEATH TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.

WEST POINT, March 23^d, 1781.

9 o'clock, P. M.

DEAR GENERAL, — I have just received intelligence from the water guard which I believe may be fully depended on, that the fleet of transports having the troops on board sailed from New York on Wednesday morning last, the 21st instant, the same number that had put to sea before and returned, having been chased in by the French fleet. Sir Henry Clinton is gone in the fleet, report says to the southward.

General Kniphausen commands in New York at present, but it is said he goes for Europe the next month.

The same morning that the fleet sailed (*viz*^t 21st) two men came out of New York by the way of Kingsbridge; they are charged with dispatches for Quebec, and are to proceed by a secret route. One of the men is a little rising of 5 feet, short black curled hair, light blew coat, about 40 years of age; the other is about 5 feet 8 or nine inches, light long hair, about 25 years of age, wears a brown coat. They are to proceed on foot, they cannot yet have got far, but it is almost impossible to know where to intercept them.

There is now in Spiting devil Creeck 24 flat boats, part

of which have been there about a week past, the rest were brought there but a few days since. A corps called the New Levies (or Arnold's Corps) are lying near Fort Washington, said to be ready to man the boats, &c. A frigate of 30 guns lies off Greenwich, and it is said a galley is fitting for service.

I am informed that a man by the name of John Austin, who has for some time given intelligence, and such as has been authentic, is suspected by the enemy and this day came off with our boats. He wishes to go to Morristown for a short time, he saies he is known to your Excellency, and the last summer had a pass from you to go to the same place. I wish to be informed if your Excellency has any knowledge of him, and your opinion whether to grant him the indulgence requested. I would request an answer to this by the return of the express, that I may give the man an answer; he is now with the guard boats. This should be forwarded this evening, but it [is] so extremely dark that it is almost impossible; it shall be sent at day light, with some late York papers.

I have the honor to be, with the greatest respect,

Your Excellency's most obed^t serv^t.

W. HEATH.

His Excellency Gen^l WASHINGTON.

WILLIAM HEATH TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.

WEST POINT, March 26th, 1781.

DEAR GENERAL, — As justice is undoubtedly a duty we owe to ourselves as well as our country, and to which I think the officers at present serving in the army have a call to pay some attention, I am induced to trouble your Excellency with this, and assure myself your just way of thinking will give it that consideration which it deserves.

My journey from Rhode Island to this place the last Oct^r was attended with expence, to the reimbursement of which, or to my rations during the time I drew nothing from the public stores, common justice seems to intitle me; with either I shall be satisfied. Before Major General Greene's departure from this place he informed me it was a post attended with an unavoidable expence (as I had by experiance found before without any consideration) that it was his design to render it as moderate as possible; when he had so done he expected a reimbursement, and advised me to pursue the same mode of conduct and keep an account of extra expences for the purpose. This I did untill your Excellency's arrival at New Windsor in the month of Dec^r, and I cannot but flatter myself you will judge a reimbursment reasonable. Since that time I have found this post to continue not only a very busy and fatigueing one (for if a public officer can be a slave I have this winter been one) but very expensive also. If our military establishment is such that in a post like this the commanding officer can have no allowance or consideration more than one of the same rank who commands a single brigade or division, it must be submitted to; but the latter seems to be the most fortunate. If I am fairly entitled to any consideration in the foregoing instances, I cannot but wish to have it; if I am not, shall chearfully submit to that of which if just I have no right to complain.

At the commencement of the last campaign I was in hopes it would be the last, and that at the close, if I lived to see it, I might return to the privat walks of life with honor and satisfaction; finding my expectations disappointed, I was at uncertainty whether to retire from service to pay some attention to my domestic affairs which have long and loudly claimd it, or apply for leave to visit my family to put my affairs in a temporary train and prepare myself for another campaign. The then dis-

tresses and uneasiness of the troops forbid my applying for either; your Excellency's late absence continued the objection. It is now almost ten months since I came out, if I cannot be absent a short time now the campaign will soon open and it will be inadmissible untill the next winter. If the service would admit of my being absent for a short time, between this and the opening of the campaign, I wish it. If any movements of the enemy, plan or intention of your Excellency's, forbid it, I must wave it. I never will while in the service ask leave of absence for the sake of pleasure or amusement.

I have the honor to be, with the greatest respect,

Your Excellency's most obed^t serv^t.

W. HEATH.

His Excellency Gen^l WASHINGTON.

WILLIAM HEATH TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.*

WEST POINT, March 29th, 1781.

DEAR GENERAL, — The distressed condition of the New York reg^t under the command of Col^o Van Schaick on account of their great arrears of pay, (sixteen months) and the uneasiness consequent thereon is encreased by the consideration that the troops of the other States have lately received money while they get none, their officers much perplexed and embarrassed and know not what to say or do. I promised the colonel yesterday that I would represent their case to your Excellency, which I beg leave now to do. If a few months pay can be procured for them, either from Congress or their own State, it will releive their distresses, and thereby promote the public service. Without it there is every reason to

* Washington's answer is printed in 5 Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. iv. pp. 203, 204. — EDS.

fear that desertions will take place, — indeed five or six have lately deserted from the lines; probably are gone to the enemy, which has obliged me to remove those troops entirely from the lines.

Our stock of provisions of all sorts instead of encreasing diminishes. I have lately urged on the several commissarys and quarter masters the necessity of pushing on the stores. A word from your Excellency may be more efficacious.

I am informed that Major General Parsons is very sick of a bilious fever at Reading.

I have the honor to be, with the greatest respect,
Your Excellency's most obed^t serv^t.

W. HEATH.

His Excellency General WASHINGTON.

WILLIAM HEATH TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.

WEST POINT, March 30th, 1781.

DEAR GENERAL, — I am honored with yours of this date; shall communicate to the officers of the New York reg^t the care your Excellency has been pleased to take for the relief of the reg^t, which I hope will be effectual.

I thank your Excellency for your opinion respecting my expences on my journey to this place the last fall; am sorry that a remedy in the case of expences here does not rest with you, and must request that as the common guardian of the army you will be pleased to make such representation to the Hon^{bl} the Congress as you may think the case deserves, and that what may be done should have a retrospect to the winter past, which on many accounts has been attended with peculiar circumstances. It is a post of sufficient burden for any officer without the addition of extra expence.

The very favorable manner in which your Excellency is pleased to rate my services I feel most sensibly. It will animate me to strive to merit your future approbation. I can only wish for abilities equal to my desire to render more essential services, but it is a painful consideration to me that the present situation of affairs are such as forbid me that short relaxation from business which local circumstances, and a winter's close attention of mind, seem to point out as indispensibly necessary for health, as well as to prepare to pass the approaching campaign with decency of appearance, comfort, and convenience to myself, and to afford some advice to those whose tender years require it, and on whose prosperity my future happiness in life much depend. I ever reprobate the very idea of long furloughs or absence from duty. Six years' steady devotedness to the service of my country in arms and under many discouragements, I trust, have sufficiently evidenced my attachment to her cause, but if her service requires her votaries to relinquish every attention to, or concern for, dearest connections, it is a trial too severe for my breast; for I am ready to confess that my patriotism cannot, and because I think it ought not, erase from my bosom affection and some attention to my friends, between whom and my country I have, as their right, divided the warmest corner of my heart. I shall, however, endeavour to exercise that philosophy which is in part the characteristick of the officer.

I have the honor to be, with the greatest respect,

Your Excellency's most obed^t ser^t.

W. HEATH.

His Excellency Gen^l WASHINGTON.

WILLIAM HEATH TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.

WEST POINT, April 14th, 1781.

9 o'clock, P. M.

DEAR GENERAL, — I have just received the enclosed from Cap^t Pray, by which it seems the fleet has returned from the southward, but whether with or without troops does not yet appear. There certainly are several movements which require critical observation. Simpson, the deserter (or whatever he may be) whom I sent up this afternoon, saies a large number of four and two horse waggons had been brought from Long Island to West Chester, as was said for a grand forage, their numbers being upwards of one hundred; by Cap^t Pray's letter the militia of Westchester county have been called in for some purpose, and, if his information is true, the 42nd reg^t at least has returned to New York. The collecting of forage may be a step necessary preparatory to the embarkation, especially if the 17th dragoons are to embarke, and the waggons may be designed for no other purpose, or they may have another object. I have cautioned Col^o Greene and Cap^t Pray, if possible, to develop their motions and designs, to guard against a surprise, and to give me the earliest intelligence they obtain. By the Gazette extraordinary it seems the flames of war are likely to spread, if the accounts are to be credited.

I wish the musket carteredges may be ordered down as soon as possible, and give me provisions are at present my only requests.

I have the honor to be, with the greatest respect,

Your Excellency's most obedient ser^t.

W. HEATH.

His Excellency General WASHINGTON.

WILLIAM HEATH TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.

WEST POINT, April 14th, 1781.

DEAR GENERAL, — I was the last evening honored with yours of the 12th; am happy to hear your Excellency has thought fit to take the several measures mentioned in your letter to bring forward the provisions. It is an object about which I am at present most concerned, as it is certainly the most threatening circumstance we have to encounter. If relief is seasonably and effectually afforded I think we have little to fear from Sir Henry Clinton in this quarter, be his intentions what they may. It would be a very easy manœuvre for him to hold up an appearance of moving to the Deleware; his transports might fall down with the troops to the watering place, or even pass the Hook, and there be joined by Admiral Arbuthnot and the troops sent to the Chesapeake with General Phillips, and while our attention is drawn that way suddenly return and push up this river. The letter lately sent out by Sir Henry Clinton addressed to General Schuyler I am informed was brought up by a field officer. Cap^t Pray who commands the water guard writes me that he learnt from Singsing, that he (the field officer) was seen on a hill near that place, either when coming up, or on his return, takeing a view of Verplank's and Stony Points with a glass; but the distance there is such that little knowledge could be obtained. However, should they have designs this way, either sudden or deliberate, I hope we shall be ready to give them a proper reception. Your Excellency may be assured that nothing in my power shall be wanting to effect it. I think, as I have before expressed, our greatest danger (and great it is) if a seige should take place is the want of proper supplies of provisions.

Major Bauman informs me that the artillery companies at present at this post are very inadequate to the

necessary duties of the differant works, and are rendered more so by the late removal of one of the strongest companies. I find the number of musket carteredges in the magazines, by continued diminution, are very insufficient in case of seige and need a very considerable augmentation from the magazine at Fishkill, which I request your Excellency will be pleased to order the commissary military stores to supply.

Enclosed are the proceeding of a general court martial on several culprits. I have passed upon all but one, viz^t, Robert Maples alias John Walker, whose sentence being capital I submit to your Excellency.

I intended yesterday to have taken the liberty to have enclosed Lt. Col^o Antill's and M^r Keese's opinion on having the provost erected on Pollapas Island, but omitted it.

About seventy recruits arrived last night from Massachusetts. I am informed that a very considerable number are coming on.

I have the honor to be, with the highest respect,

Your Excellency's most obed^t serv^t.

W. HEATH.

His Excellency General WASHINGTON.

WILLIAM HEATH TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.

WEST POINT, April 25th, 1781.

DEAR GENERAL,—The A. P. M. G. has informed me that 240,000 dollars new emission is sent to the pay office by the Commonwealth of Massachusetts to pay the troops of their Line. The committee from the army now at Boston lately informed me by letter that they had agreed with the Commonwealth on a compleat settlement for the last year's pay, and that in case any money arrived at the pay office, it should be received for the present year. The troops belonging to the Commonwealth, both officers

and men, are in extreme want of money. I request that orders may issue for their relief as soon as your Excellency may think it convenient. The musters are made for Jan^{ry}, Feb^{ry}, and March. April is nearly gone, and if your Excellency should think proper that the troops should receive four months' pay the rolls can be completed in a few days for the present month. The wants and distresses of the troops are too well known to your Excellency to need my mentioning them.

I forward two deserters from Arnold's corps. They report the capture of the frigate *Confedracy*.

I have the honor to be, with the greatest respect,

Your Excellency's most obed^t serv^t.

W. HEATH.

P. S. Col^o Hughes, D. Q. M. at Fishkill, has just applied for twenty men for the season, to be employed at Newburgh as colliers. He represents the necessity of the measure being adopted, and that the want of the money in the Q. M. department allows of no other expedient. It is a great pity that men procured for recruiting the army and on most exorbitant bounties should be made colliers and put on every kind of service instead of being drilled and formed soldiers. I wish your Excellency's opinion and direction in the case.

W. H.

His Excellency General WASHINGTON.

WILLIAM HEATH TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.*

WEST POINT, April 27th, 1781.

DEAR GENERAL, — I have mentioned to some of the principal officers of the Massachusetts Line the receiving

* This letter was answered, April 28, by Colonel Humphrys, aide-de-camp, who wrote: "I am directed by his Excellency, the Commander in Chief, to inform you that the troops of the Massachusetts Line may receive four months' pay." — Eds.

but three months' pay at this *instant*, viz^t; for Jan^{ry}, Feb^{ry}, and March, out of the monies sent on by their Commonwealth, and the fourth month a short time hence, but I find their distresses so great, and their debts so accumulated, that it is not possible for them to do with less than the four months. The distresses of the army were so great the last summer that Congress resolved that two months' pay should be immediately *advanced* to them, but not a farthing has yet been received. The Commonwealth of Massachusetts by uncommon taxes, I am just informed, have determined to relieve their own troops. The troops, I find, expect it, and it will tend to create uneasiness, both in the army and at home, if they do not. I therefore request that as soon as the April muster can be compleated four months' pay may be drawn. The men have been relieved by their gratuity money, but the officers suffer beyond discription.

I have the honor to be, with the greatest respect,
Your Excellency's most obed^t serv^t.

W. HEATH.

His Excellency General WASHINGTON.

TIMOTHY PICKERING TO WILLIAM HEATH.

NEWBURGH, May 11, 1781.

SIR, — After the repeated orders that have been given for the transportation of the salted provisions westward of Connecticut River to the army proved fruitless, as the several towns generally neglected to perform a service which was as well their duty as it was essential to the support of the army, to prevent the fatal mischiefs that would ensue from a total want of provisions, I was induced to offer payment for the transport of all the provisions which on this pressing occasion should be

brought forward to Hudson's River. But the promise of payment on the delivery of the provisions (and which I was ready to make) had no effect. With people so utterly regardless of the most essential interests of their country, it was apparent that nothing save military force would have any operation. On a representation of these facts, the Commander in Chief has accordingly authorized me to apply the aid of the military. To this authority my consequent orders are conformed, and the business is now in execution, or rather the execution is commencing,—the authority referred to was given me but yesterday. A copy of my orders are inclosed, together with a list of the towns in Connecticut at which provisions are deposited. From these you will be able to judge of the quantities of provisions that will be transported in any given time. If parties of troops are furnished agreeably to the orders given, and they do their duty, I cannot suppose that the transportation will fail.

When I first promised payment of the hire of the teams, I had no idea of extending it beyond Danbury, or such like distance, as it was the duty of the State to transport the provisions to a deposit at about the same distance from the North River. Nor do I now intend to pay the hire of a single team that is *forced* into the service, unless the agents employed on this occasion make any special agreements for that purpose. The promise of payment was made to save myself and the people from a measure so disagreeable as impressing. I hope, however, that the State of Connecticut will relieve me of the transportation from any but the nearest towns; for the money promised for this service by me can very ill be spared.

To carry on transportation, to forward live-stock, and for the other necessary services in Connecticut, I expected my deputy would be furnished with money by the State; but he has received none: pay-table orders have supplied

its place, but these (he informs me) are greatly depreciated, and it becomes daily more difficult to do business with them.

It is necessary you should be informed that without money in hand it is impossible to do business in the States at a distance from the army. In New-York and New-Jersey the army *take* what is wanted; and the people (with amazing patience) have submitted to the *oppression*, partly thro' fear, and in part from a conviction of the indispensable necessity of the army's being supplied with the articles so taken. Unless the eastern States furnish money to my deputies to enable them to continue the transportation from the places of deposit, and to forward live-stock, both must stop or part (a measure to be deprecated) be sold to send on the residue.

As soon as the grass is grown sufficiently, I expect a considerable transportation of stores and provisions will be effected by the ox teams engaged to serve with the army the ensuing campaign. The number of teams demanded of my deputies for the four eastern States are mentioned in the inclosed list. Col^o Hatch in April had engaged about 130; and M^r Pomeroy his whole quota, but he expected to lose some of them, which he feared would be drawn away by the powerful attraction of gold to serve with the French army. All these teams were to move the fore part of the present month, loaded with stores and provisions, to the army: the backwardness of the season, and the scarcity of dry forage will prevent them.

I have the honor to be, Sir, your most obed^t serv^t.

T. PICKERING, *Q. M. G.*

Major General HEATH.

WILLIAM HEATH TO JONATHAN TRUMBULL.*

HARTFORD, May 14, 1781.

SIR, — The objects of my commission to the eastern States at this time are to present the address of his Excellency General Washington, representing the alarming state of the army on account of the want of provisions, to entreat immediate temporary relief, and endeavour the establishment of some more permanent and effectual mode of supply in future. To obtain the first, which cannot admit of any the least delay without the inevitable evacuation of Fort Schuyler and exposing the army to dissolution, beef cattle, fully equal to the late demand of M^r Commissary Stevens, must be immediately sent on, together with all the salted meat in the western parts of the State of Connecticut. In the second place, a regular and effectual mode must be adopted and uniformly carried into execution for supplying the army during the campaign. Without this the same perplexing wants, irregularities, and distresses will continue which have existed in time past. The quantity of fresh beef which will be wanted from the State of Connecticut from the first of June during the present campaign is pointed out in the estimate of the commissary general of issues, copy of which I have the honor to present herewith. The best mode for ensuring supplies, and whether it may not be best for the Legislatures of the four New England States by committees appointed for that purpose to confer thereon, can be best determined by your Honorable Assembly. But in the mean time to prevent the impending dissolution of the army I earnestly entreat that the State of Connecticut would without a moment's

* Letters of similar purport were sent to Governor Greene of Rhode Island and to Governor Hancock of Massachusetts, and shortly afterward General Heath visited Exeter for the purpose of delivering his despatches in person. — Eds.

delay precisely comply with the requisitions of the quartermaster and commissary which have been lately made. It may be impracticable at present to transport the salted meat from the eastern parts of the State of Connecticut. I request to be informed what quantities have been procured, at what places, and under whose charge it actually is, and if any part of the provisions yet remain uncollected, they may be ordered without loss of time to the place or places which have been pointed out for their deposit.

A supply of rum is also essentially necessary. When I left the army men on the severest fatigue had nothing but water to drink. This will not only dispirit the army, but soon injure their health. I am instructed to enquire what quantities of rum are in store, and at what places, and in what manner it may be forwarded. The arrangements of transportation should be so made as to have the articles carried entirely through to the army without having them stopped on the road. I am also instructed to urge the forwarding of the summer clothing, and wish to be informed in what readiness it is at present. On the whole, as the continuance of the army in the field, and its being of any real service after the great expence which has been incurred in raising and recruiting of it, rest entirely on the supplies being seasonably and amply furnished, I flatter myself that notwithstanding all the embarrassments under which the State labors, that zeal for the public service which on every emergency has been so apparent will now prompt to those exertions which alone can retain the army in existence.

I have the honor to be, with the most perfect respect,
Your Excellency's most obedient servant.

W. HEATH, *M. General.*

HIS EXCELLENCY GOVERNOR TRUMBULL.

WILLIAM HEATH TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.

HARTFORD, May 15th, 1781.

DEAR GENERAL, — I arrived here yesterday afternoon, found the General Assembly siting, presented your letter to Governor Trumbull, together with a representation containing the spirit of my instructions. This morning I attended the Governor, Council, and Representatives in the Council Chamber, when the papers were read, and I had an opportunity to speak on them. The papers were committed to a committee of both Houses. I have the pleasure to acquaint your Excellency they had that attention paid them which their interesting importance required. A resolution has passed to send on immediately 160 head of beef cattle, which it is supposed will amount to 5,000 rations p^r day to the first of June, one thousand barrels of salted meat is also to be forwarded with the greatest dispatch, with a quantity of rum. There is about 1,000 barrels of salted meat deposited in this town. It has been repacked, and is well stored. I shall endeavour in the morning to obtain a return of the whole quantity which has been procured in this State. I believe an accurate return has been given in of the whole. An addition is made to the committee of both Houses who are to proceed to the consideration of the great supply for the campaign. Their resolutions on this head also, I think, will equal your expectations. I have sent off an express to M^r Phelps to forward all the beef cattle he can command without a moment's delay. Shall proceed to Rhode Island to-morrow.

I have the honor to be, with the greatest respect,

Your Excellency's most obedient servant.

W. HEATH.

His Excellency General WASHINGTON.

WILLIAM HEATH TO MESHECH WEARE.

ROXBURY, May 22nd, 1781.

SIR, — The objects of my commission to the eastern States at this time are to present the address of his Excellency General Washington representing the alarming situation of the army on account of the want of provisions, to entreat immediate temporary relief, and endeavour the establishment of some more permanent and effectual mode of supply in future. To obtain the first which cannot admit of any the least delay without the inevitable evacuation of Fort Schuyler and exposing the army to dissolution, beef cattle fully equal to the late demand of M^r Commissary Stevens must be immediately sent on. In the 2nd place a regular and effectual mode must be adopted and uniformly carried into execution for supplying the army during the campaign; without this the same perplexing wants, irregularities, and distresses will continue which have existed in time past. The quantity of fresh beef which will be wanted from the State of New Hampshire from the first of June next, and during the campaign, is specified in the estimate of the Commissary General of Issues copy of which I have the honor to present herewith. The best method for insuring this supply, and whether it may not be best for Legislatures of the New England States by committees appointed for that purpose to confer thereon, can be best determined by your Honorable Assembly; but I most earnestly request that it may be accomplished in such way as may be thought best, without a moment's loss of time, and on the most certain basis, so that the beef cattle may be punctually put in motion on a fixed day in each week, which alone can ensure a regular supply.

As it may be impracticable at present to transport the salted meat from the State of New Hampshire, I request to be informed by an *official* return what quantities have

been procured, where and under whose charge it actually is, if any part of the salted provisions have not yet been collected, that it may without loss of time be ordered to the place or places pointed out for its deposit, repacked and safely stored.

A supply of rum is also essentially necessary for the troops. When I left the army men on the severest fatigue had nothing but water to drink. I am instructed to enquire what quantity of rum is in store in your State, and at what place or places, and in what manner it may be forwarded. The arrangements of transportation should be so made as to have the articles carried entirely through to the army without leaving them on the road. I am also instructed to urge the forwarding the summer clothing, and request to be informed in what readiness it is at present. As the completion of this important business will require my return to Boston before your arrangements may be fully made, I request your Honor will be pleased to inform me by letter of the final determination of your State, and of each particular, that I may make a report to the Commander in Chief conformable to my instructions.

As the continuance of the army in the field, and its being of any real service after the great expence which has been incurred in raising and recruiting it, rest entirely on the supplies being seasonably and amply furnished, I flatter myself that notwithstanding all the embarrassments under which your State labors, that zeal for the public service which on every emergency has been so apparant will now prompt to those exertions which alone can retain the army in existance.

I have the honor to be, with the greatest respect,

Your Honor's most obed^t ser^t.

W. HEATH, *M. Gen.*

P. S. The commissary's estimate of rum is one hundred and twenty hogsheds p^r month, the D. Q. M. at

Boston informs me no person is yet appointed to receive the store at N. 4. and request you will be pleased to appoint one.

HON. MESHECH WEARE, Esqu^{re}.

WILLIAM HEATH TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.

ROXBURY, May 29th, 1781.

DEAR GENERAL,—I had the honor last to address your Excellency from Hartford the 15th inst., with a representation of my proceedings to that time. The next morning Governor Trumbull informed me that there were seven thousand barrels salted meat in the State of Connecticut, which may be depended on for the use of the army, and at least two thousand barrels of fish, with 40 hhd. rum at Hartford and 15 at Philadelphia. The provisions were not all collected to the places pointed out for their deposit. I earnestly requested they might be.

Mr Phelps, superintendant of purchases in Massachusetts, before my departure from Hartford informed me in answer to my letter to him, that he would exert his utmost endeavours to forward on beef cattle, and I have good grounds to conclude he has done it. From Hartford I proceeded to Rhode Island. The Assembly were not sitting. Governor Greene assured me that no exertions of his should be wanting to comply with the requisitions when the Assembly met, which was to be on yesterday. From Rhode Island I proceeded to Boston. The old Assembly were up. Governor Hancock assured me that he with his Council would do all in the power of the executive authority, and a supply of money has been sent on to Mr Phelps. The new Assembly are to meet to-morrow, when the requisitions will have the first attention. From Boston I proceeded to New Hampshire.

The Assembly had been for some time prorogued. The President and Council represented the embarrassments of the State, both on account of their finances and the falling off of two of their western counties to Vermont, but assured me that every thing in their power should be done. Their Assembly don't meet until the 2nd Wednesday in June, and the President informed me that it was scarcely possible to call them specially sooner, should he attempt it.

I have requested returns of the provision, rum, and clothing in the several States, but found it was not in the power of the executives to give them immediately. I believe the stock of rum is but small. The summer clothing in Connecticut in tollerable forwardness; in Rhode Island nearly compleat and soon to be forwarded; in Massachusetts in some forwardness, but by no means compleat; in New Hampshire but little prepared, and the prospects not the most promising.

Having delivered the several addresses and made representations thereon, I shall continue my importunities untill I obtain official answers from the respective States; hope they will be such as will be satisfactory. As soon as I obtain them shall have the honor of forwarding them. I request to be informed whether by the salted provisions to be transported from the western parts of Massachusetts, those at Springfield as well as Great Barrington are ment to be included or only the latter. I shall loose no time in endeavouring to execute the commission with which your Excellency has honord me, and to return to the army; in the mean time I pray that in the arrangment for the campaign, which from several circumstances I have reason to apprehend are makeing, I may not be forgotten.

We have no news in this quarter, except a report that the British have thrown succours into Gibraltar. The two French frigates which were in Boston harbour put to

sea the day before yesterday. The money is at present in a fluctuating situation.

I have the honor to be, with the highest respect,
Your Excellency's most obed^t serv^t.

W. HEATH.

The Assembly have passed an act for furnishing the quarter master with waggons by impress when necessary.

His Excellency General WASHINGTON.

WILLIAM HEATH TO JONATHAN TRUMBULL.

ROXBURY, May 30th, 1781.

SIR, — Having proceeded to the several New England States with the address of his Excellency General Washington requesting supplies for the army, I returned to this place the 27th instant.

My instructions which I had the honor of shewing to your Excellency among other things enjoyn as follows, — “After having delivered the dispatches with which you are charged, and made such further representations as you may judge necessary, you will not cease your applications and importunities untill you are informed officially whether effectual measures are or will be taken to prevent the army from starving and disbanding, — what supplies in general, and particularly of *beef cattle* may certainly be depended upon to be delivered at fixed regular periods, monthly or weekly, at the army during the campaign.” With respect to the first part of this instruction, temporary relief, your Honorable Assembly before I left Hartford had taken the necessary measures which I hope have been carried into execution; with respect to the latter, the permanent supply for the campaign, I request to be informed if that important business has been determined, or is yet under consideration. Permit me also to request

a copy of the return of the salted provisions, the places of deposit, and whether they have been repacked and stored, also the state of the summer clothing. It is needless for me to observe how much the comfort and convenience of the troops will be promoted by the clothing being early sent on.

The probability that the army may ere long be in motion, the warm and faint season having nearly arrived, induce me to request that the necessary supply of rum may be seasonably provided and forwarded to the army. The commissary's estimate is one hundred and twenty hogsheds p^r month, from the eastern States. The proportion of the State of Connecticut from the general requisition can be easily ascertained. Duty to my country and the army, and fidelity to my General, who has enjoined on me the most assiduous endeavours to have this great business, on which the support of the army entirely depends, accomplished as soon as possible constrain me to be importunate for its completion, and I pray your candor if I have or should hereafter in any instance appear particularly solicitous.

I have the honor to be, with the highest respect,

Your Excellencie's most obed^t serv^t.

W. HEATH, *M. General.*

His Excellency Governor TRUMBULL.

WILLIAM HEATH TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.*

ROXBURY, June 7th, 1781.

DEAR GENERAL, — I am still pursuing the completion of my commission. By a letter I received the last evening from Rhode Island I am informed that Governor

* Washington's answer is printed in 5 Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. iv. pp. 213-215. — Eds.

Greene has written your Excellency an answer to your address, the doings of the Assembly, and the condition of the provisions and clothing in that State.

This State (Massachusetts) have the business of permanent supplies now under consideration in the General Assembly; their committee have reported a convention of committees for forming a system for supplying the army in future. I think that notwithstanding the embarrassments under which the States labor they will grant every thing requested of them. Your requisition for men, both for completing the battalions and the militia will be complied with.

Yesterday afternoon the continental frigate Alliance arrived in Boston harbour from France. The Alliance has taken six prizes; two sloops of war, one of which is copper-bottomed; two West Indiamen, and two privateers. In the engagement with the sloops of war which were both at the same time, and in a calm, Cap^t Barry received a wound in the shoulder by a grape shot, badly but not mortally. His cap^t of marines and seven or eight men were killed, and near twenty wounded. The Alliance has brought no clothing. The clothing was all on board the La Fayette, and there is much reason to fear she foundered at sea in a heavy gale near six weeks since. Some unaccountable fatality seems to attend our obtaining clothing.

The last evening signals were out for a fleet which is supposed to be French transport with drafts for the army at Rhode Island. A brig^t arrived the day before yesterday; the troops she brought are Germans for the regiment Deux Ponts. It is said there are twelve or fourteen transports under convoy of two ships of war,—the number of troops not very considerable. Your Excellency will have heard before this reaches you of the arrival of the French fleet in the West Indies. It is formidable. There are but two ships of 64 guns; the

others are from 74 to 100 guns, seventeen of which are copper-bottomd.

I am anxious to compleat the business on which I have been sent, and to return to the army.

I have the honor to be, with the highest respect,
Your Excellency's most obed^t serv^t.

W. HEATH.

His Excellency G^l WASHINGTON.

PETITION TO THE GENERAL COURT OF MASSACHUSETTS.

To the Honorable the Senate and House of Representatives of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts in General Court assembled, June, 1781.

The Petition of William Heath, Major General in the army of the United States of America, and specially commissioned and instructed by his Excellency General Washington to apply to the New England States for supplies for the army, — Humbly Sheweth :

That your petitioner among other things is instructed as follows, — “After having delivered the dispatches with which you are charged, and made such farther representations as you may think necessary, you will not cease your applications and importunities untill you are informed officially whether effectual measures are or will be taken to prevent the army from starving and disbanding, what supplies in general, and particularly of *Beef Cattle* may certainly be depended upon to be delivered at fixed regular periods (monthly or weekly) at the army during the whole campaign.”

The dispatches with which I was charged were communicated to the Honorable the General Assembly at the opening of the session, and altho I am assured the time and deliberations of the Hon^l Assembly have been employed on the most important business, yet, as on the

success of my commission not only the future success of the army but its present existance depend, and my instructions enjoyn the most assiduous endeavours to carry them into effect, duty to my country and the army, and fidelity to my General, constrain me to renew my solicitations, and earnestly to intreat that the supplies which are requested may be granted as soon as may be convenient. The late requisitions for compleating the battalions, holding a body of militia in readiness to march, and the order for forwarding ordnance and military stores, clearly evince how necessary it is that the Commander in Chief should be informed what supplies he may depend upon, for without this your Honors are sensible no plan of operation can be concerted or attempted, or an increasing army even kept together.

Your petitioner therefore prays that the quantity of fresh beef specified in the requisition may be granted and regularly forwarded, that the salted meat in the western parts of the State may be immediately forwarded, together with the necessary supply of rum which is indispensibly necessary for the health and comfort of your troops. I beg your candor if in any instance I have or hereafter should appear to be particularly solicitous, and your petitioner as in duty bound will ever pray.

W. HEATH, *M. General.*

Indorsed by Gen. Heath : Petition to General Assembly, June 12th, 1781.

WILLIAM HEATH TO MESHECH WEARE.

ROXBURY, June 13th, 1781.

SIR,—I have been honored with yours of the 4th instant; am happy in the early measures taken by the Honorable Committee of Safety to have beef cattle immediately purchased and forwarded for the relief of the army, and hope the purchasers have been able to procure

a quantity equal to what was requested, and as your Honorable General Assembly convenes this day, I assure myself that they will take effectual measures to ensure the permanent supplies for the campaign and have them seasonably forwarded. The late circular requisitions to complete the battalions, and also to hold a body of the militia in readiness to march if called for evince that the grant of a less quantity of provisions than has been requested will be insufficient and may be productive of ill consequences. I therefore intreat that the full requisition may be granted, and forwarded with punctuality weekly.

The General Assembly here have proposed a convention of committees to meet in the course of this month to establish a regular system of supplies, of which you will probably be informed by his Excellency Governor Hancock p^r this post, but I pray that in the interim the supplies requested may be punctually sent on. As I am specially instructed to obtain official returns of the state of the salted provisions and rum in the several New England States designed for the army, permit me to request those from New Hampshire agreeable to mine of the 22nd ulto. as soon as may be convenient, and that your proportion of rum which is indispensibly necessary for the health as well as comfort of the troops may be forwarded to the army.

I have the honor to be, with the highest respect,

Your Honor's most obedient serv^t.

W. HEATH, *M. General.*

HON. MESHECH WEARE, Esquire.

WILLIAM HEATH TO JOHN HANCOCK.

ROXBURY, June 17th, 1781.

SIR,—Enclosed I have the honor to lay before your Excellency a letter received yesterday p^r express from

his Excellency General Washington ; from the tenor of the letter it appears that the Commander in Chief has settled his plan for the campaign upon the presumption of the success of my application to the New England States for supplies, and that a failure in the smallest degree on the part of the States will involve the army in the deepest distress, and probably frustrate every advantage we might otherwise obtain. I am exceedingly happy in the grant of fresh beef made by the Honorable the General Assembly of this Commonwealth, and hope the most certain and effectual measures will be adopted to ensure a seasonable collection and regular forwarding of it to the army, and that measures will also be taken to *ensure a supply* between this time and the operation of the late resolve. By his Excellency's letter not only the salted provisions in the county of Berkshire but those also at Springfield are to be forwarded immediately to the army. By my former instructions I was directed to request that if the salted provisions were not collected to the places appointed for their deposit it might be done without delay. I therefore request that all the salted provisions in the county of Berkshire and at Springfield (except such at the latter place as may be necessary for the marching parties) may be immediately sent on to Clavarack. I am sorry to find that the troops who were destitute of rum when I left the army several weeks since still continue so, and that numbers through hard fatigue and the want of refreshments are falling sick, while our country and our tables abound with variety of liquors. I assure myself the guardians of the country will never leave their army to faint under fatigue and fall into hospitals through the want of the most indifferant refreshments. I intreat that a quantity of rum may be immediately put in motion for the releif of the army.

I am directed to represent to the States that almost every article of summer clothing in the public store

which was of any value has been sent on to the southern army, and that there is no other possible alternative but for the troops to be supplied by their own States or become literally naked.

Orders are received for forwarding to the army a quantity of wollen clothing now in the public store in Boston. I fear it will not be in the power of the D. Q. M. G. to effect the transportation without the aid of the State, I therefore pray that such assistance as may appear to be necessary may be afforded. I am fully sensible of the great exertions already made by this Commonwealth, and the very peculiar embarrassments under which it at present labors. These give me pain when duty compels to solicit further exertions, but when the aspect of the public affairs afford a flattering omen principals both of interest and policy conspire to urge them, as the most sure and speedy means to obtain peace and happiness.

I have the honor to be, with the greatest respect and esteem,

Your Excellency's most obedient serv^t.

W. HEATH.

P. S. After the enclosed letter which is the original has been laid before the Hon^{ble} the General Assembly, I would request the return of it.

W. H.

Governor HANCOCK.

WILLIAM HEATH TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.*

ROXBURY, June 18th, 1781.

DEAR GENERAL, — I have been honored with yours of the 7th inst. I have not for a moment neglected the business of my mission or ceased my solicitations to effect it, and have the pleasure to assure your Excellency that there is a disposition in all the New England States to

* Washington's answer to this letter and the letter of June 24 is printed in 5 Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. iv. pp. 217, 218. — Eds.

afford every aid and support you have required as far as is within their power.

This Commonwealth have passed the most spirited resolutions for compleating their battalions. To ensure the seven thousand rations of fresh beef p^r day for the month of July and the remainder of the campaign, they have passed a resolution requiring the several towns to collect monthly three hundred and seventeen thousand pounds of live beef, which quantity it is supposed, after the deduction of hides and tallow and the wastage in driving, &c, will afford the seven thousand pounds p^r day at the army. Blank executions are sent out that in case of any delinquency the deficiency may be levied by distraint immediately. To ensure a supply between this time and the operation of the resolve a sum of money, partly in specie, is sent to M^r Phelps, the superintendant, to enable him to continue his purchases. I think the supply of fresh beef is certain in Massachusetts. From Rhode Island your Excellency has already heard; from Connecticut and New Hampshire I expect to hear by tomorrow's post. Your Excellency's letter of the 7th with a pressing solicitation I have laid before the Assembly here, and shall by the post send coppies to the other three States. The rum has been under consideration; today a quantity will be procured and forwarded immediately, (in all my former applications I had represented the necessity of it both for the comfort and health of the troops) and flattered myself twenty hogsheds from Connecticut had long since arrived at the army. I had also requested Gov^r Green to forward a part of that in store at Rhode Island. The quantity I am soliciting is one hundred and twenty hh^d p^r month.

Between two and three thousand frocks and overalls will go on from this State in a few days. I have and shall continue to urge on all the States the necessity of a competent supply.

Mess^{rs} Otis and Henly had opened all the packages of cloathing from Spain by order, as they inform me, of a member of the Board of War, General Cornel, before I was honored with your letter, and they add that it was fortunate that they did, as some of the packages were wet. The waistcoats, breeches, a number of the hatts, &c, were sent forward the last week. I have directed the remainder of the whole to be packed and forwarded as soon as possible.

The ordnance with the military stores are going on, the marine mortars will be a heavy and expensive jobb. The Commonwealth most chearfully grant every aid in their power, but the present fluctuating state of the currency and embarrassed state of their finances, with the almost instant complication of calls for provisions, cloathing, transportation, and compleating their battalions, the latter of which is attended with very great expence, taken all together, are a burden which trys all their feelings, and it affords a most pleasing satisfaction to see with how much chearfullness and fortitude they bear it.

A convention of committees from the four States are to meet at Providence on Monday next, in order to establish a system for a regular supply for the campaign.

Your Excellency will doubtless before this reaches you have heard of the success of the arms of our great and good ally in the East Indies, and the probability of Great Britain's being striped of her invallueable possessions in that quarter of the globe. We have no other news of consequence that can be depended on.

I have the honor to be, with the highest respect and esteem,

Your Excellency's most obedient servant.

W. HEATH.

His Excellency Gen^l WASHINGTON.

WILLIAM HEATH TO JONATHAN TRUMBULL.

ROXBURY, June 19th, 1781.

SIR,—I take the liberty to enclose copy of a letter which I have just received from his Excellency General Washington, from which it appears how much depends upon the Eastern States most pointedly and punctually complying with every part of the late requisitions for supplies. I hope the State of Connecticut have before this time made ample provision for the supply of beef cattle for the campaign. This Commonwealth have done it and have had due consideration in their tax (which is to be paid in *beef only*) to the hides, tallow, and wasteage in driving that their whole quota may constantly arrive at the army.

I am sorry to find by his Excellency's letter that the troops who were destitute of rum when I left the army several weeks since still continue so, and that numbers through hard fatigue and the want of refreshments are falling sick, while our country abounds with a variety and plenty of liquors. I assure myself that those who are the guardians of the army, as well as country, will never leave their troops to faint under fatigue and fall into the hospitals through the want of ordinary refreshments; and I do most earnestly entreat that a quantity of rum may be *immediately* sent on from the State of Connecticut, and their proportion of the necessary supply be regularly forwarded in future.

His Excellency's letter also clearly marks how indispensibly necessary it is for the summer cloathing to be prepared and forwarded as soon as possible.

I am fully sensible of the great exertions already made by the Eastern States and the very peculiar embarrassments under which they at present labor on account of their finances; these considerations give me pain when

duty compels to solicit further exertions, but when the aspect of public affairs afford a flattering omen, principles both of policy and interest conspire to urge them as the most speedy and sure means to obtain peace and happiness.

I have the honor to be, with the highest respect and esteem,

Your Excellency's most obed^t serv^t.

W. HEATH.

Governor TRUMBULL.

June 21st.

P. S. The last evening I received a letter from his Excellency General Washington dated the 13th instant. I have the honor to enclose copy thereof and most earnestly intreat that every of its objects may have that instant attention which their importance require.

I have the honor to be as before.

W. HEATH.

JONATHAN TRUMBULL TO WILLIAM HEATH.

HARTFORD, 20th June, 1781.

SIR, — Your favor of 30th May last is before me, and in answer to it have to inform you that in addition to the doings of the General Assembly while you was in town, they have ordered all the salted provisions on the west side of Connecticut River to be transported to Fish Kill or the army. The whole of our salted meat and fish will be about 8,000 barrells. Between fifty and eighty head of cattle were sent on to camp last week, in consequence of a supply of £500 in specie furnished to Commissary Champion. To-morrow he will receive £500 more in like money which will be immediately applied to the same use, and the cattle sent on. Besides he is to receive as soon as it can possibly be collected £1,000 more in hard cash, which is

to be expended in the same way. In addition to this mode of supply the Assembly have laid a tax of one penny on the pound which will raise about £7,600, payable on the first day of each of the next succeeding months, in fresh beef for the army, and at the rates affix^d by Congress, or in hard money, and ammounting in the whole to £30,400. Beef cattle are plenty. The only difficulty is the means to purchase them. My greatest anxiety is how we shall get them on regularly to camp ; we shall exert ourselves in the best manner in our power with the means in our hands. Col. Champion is appointed to join a committee of the New England States at Providence next Monday, to consult and devise measures for forwarding on provisions to the army in a regular manner. I have made his Excellency the Commander in Chief acquainted with these things by a letter of this date. I have not as yet obtain^d an exact return of the salted beef, nor has the quarter-master acquainted me with the places of deposit, but orders have gone out for repacking the beef with the greatest care, pinning the hoops, &c., fit for carting.

Fifteen hogsheads of rum belonging to this State have been ordered from Philadelphia which I trust have arrived in camp before this. Twenty more will be furnished and sent on soon from this to camp.

In compliance with the General's requisition for filling up the Connecticut Line, &c, the Assembly have ordered that in case the towns and classes have not furnished their men by the 25th instant it shall be done by peremptory detachment ; the men to be mustered and at rendezvous by the 5th day of July next. They have also ordered the two companies of Governor's guards, all the independant matross companies, and light infantry thro the State, the two State regiments at Horsneck, and so many of the sea coast guards as to make up 2,100 men, to be in readiness to march at the direction of the Governor and

Council of Safety to join the army, and 500 volunteers to be put into readiness to join the army if called for.

We yesterday ordered 800 men to be raised by peremptory detachment and forthwith to be marched to the post at West Point, in consequence of a requisition from General Washington for that number of men to be sent there for a special purpose.

I am, with esteem and regard, dear General,

Your obedient, hble. servant.

JONTH TRUMBULL.

Major General HEATH.

WILLIAM HEATH TO THE COMMITTEES OF THE
NEW ENGLAND STATES.

ROXBURY, June 22nd, 1781.

GENTLEMEN, — The meeting of the Convention of Committees from the four New England States at Providence on Monday the 25th instant being in consequence of my applications to the States for supplies for the army, and my applications bottomed on the instructions of his Excellency General Washington, I take the liberty to lay before you the spirit of them as expressed by him in several letters.

In my first instructions, which bear date the 9th of May, I am directed to repair to the several Eastern States with the dispatches addressed to the Governor of Connecticut, Rhode Island, Massachusetts Bay, and the President of New Hampshire, representing the distressed situation of the army on account of the want of provisions. His Excellency then goes on to observe “The great objects of your attention and mission are, 1st, an immediate supply of beef cattle; 2^{ndly}, the transportation of all the salted meat in the western parts of Connecticut and Massachusetts; and 3^{rdly}, the establishment of a *regular systematic effectual plan* for feeding the army through the campaign.

Unless the two former are effected the garrison of Fort Schuyler must inevitably, that of West Point may probably, *fall* and the whole army be disbanded; without the latter, the same perplexing wants, irregularities and distress which we have so often experienced will incessantly occur with eventual far greater evils if not final ruin," "and I would suggest whether it would not be expedient for a Committee from the several States (consisting of a few active, sensible men) to meet at some convenient place in order to make out upon a uniform and great scale all the arrangements respecting supplies and transportation for the campaign." "You will not cease your applications and importunities untill you are informed officially whether effectual measures are or will be taken to prevent the army from starving and disbanding, what supplies in general, and particularly of *beef cattle*, may certainly be depended upon to be delivered at fixed regular periods (monthly or weekly) at the army during the whole campaign."

In a letter of the 8th inst his Excellency observes, "As the plan of the campaign is now settled upon the presumption of the success of your application, a failure in the smallest degree on the part of the States will involve us in the deepest distress and probably frustrate every advantage we might otherwise obtain. I only wish the Legislatures may be impressed with these ideas, and stimulated to exertions proportioned to the occasion." "Not a drop of rum has yet come on, and the physicians report that the artificers (who work exceedingly hard) are falling sick for want of it, besides you must be sensible it is extremely necessary for other purposes." "I am persuaded you will not lose sight of the supply of beef cattle called for from the Eastern States, nor give a moment's quiet to them, untill ample provision is made for obtaining the whole of it. The means of transportation are equally necessary."

In a letter of the 13th inst^t his Excellency observes, "I wrote you on the 8th instant, urging the necessity of having the supplies of provision, rum, and clothing immediately forwarded from the States. These things are of such immense importance to all our plans that they cannot be repeated too often or pressed with too much importunity"; and in a letter of the 15th his Excellency again observes, "I am pleased with the representations of the favorable disposition of the States which I receive from almost every quarter. I lament the embarrassments they experience, and fear without a spirited and constant exertion we shall be again disappointed in the essential article of beef cattle, — a repetition of disappointment, I need not tell you, will be attended with fatal consequences." Having, Gentlemen, thus given you some paragraphs of his Excellency's instructions and letters, from which it appears how much depends on ample supplies being seasonably and constantly furnished, how anxious our illustrious General is to have them ensured, and I add inconceivable will be the advantages or disadvantages to the States eventually as the supplies are furnished or withheld. The quantity of fresh beef requested for the campaign is specified in the enclosed estimate of the Commissary General and cannot admit of any diminution. Due consideration should be had and an allowance made for the hides, tallow, and wasteage in driving, that the whole quantity required may certainly arrive at the army, and I earnestly request that the beef cattle may go on weekly, and I submit to your consideration whether it may not be best to fix it pointedly to a certain day in the week that not a single day may be lost or the least innovation on the plan happen. One hundred and twenty hogsheads of rum p^r month for the campaign is required from the New England States; the proportion each State is to furnish of this quantity may be stated from the general requisition of Congress of Nov^r last. The movements

which the army will soon commence will render a supply of rum as indispensibly necessary as the other species of provisions, and I request that effectual measures may be adopted to have it provided and seasonably forwarded to the army. The salted provisions in the western parts of Connecticut and Massachusetts (in the latter including those at Great Barrington and Springfield) were some time since to be transported to the army, those in Massachusetts to Clavarack as the nearest point of embarkation. If this has not already been done, I pray it may be effected without the least delay. It is also indispensibly necessary that the States should as soon as possible forward their summer clothing, as without it their troops will suffer exceedingly.

One *tenth part* of the salted provisions, *beef cattle*, and *rum* should be sent to Albany (untill otherwise ordered). From Mr Phelps's situation it may be most convenient for him to supply that quarter, or otherwise should you think proper.

As the army can never be properly supplied but through a regular systematical plan, and without it immense sums of money may be expended to little or no purpose, I rest assured that the zeal and abilities of the Convention will lead them to the establishment of a plan which will ensure ample supplies to the army and lasting advantage to the States.

I have the honor to be, with the highest respect,
Gentlemen,

Your most obedient servant.

W. HEATH, *M. General.*

Hon^{ble} Convention of Committees from the New England States.

WILLIAM HEATH TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.

ROXBURY, June 24th, 1781.

DEAR GENERAL, — I last addressed your Excellency on the 18th instant. I have since been honored with yours of the 13th and 15th. The towns are now making the greatest exertions to compleat their quota of men for the continental battalions, the greater part of them will be raised, but some of them for the campaign only; these, however, will be of the best men. The militia will be detached conformable to your requisition, but I think will not be able [to] join the army by the 15th of July, altho in this and all other instances there appears to be a disposition in the States to exert themselves to the utmost of their power. I hope the supply of fresh beef, that is the quantity specified in the commissary general's estimate which I received from head quarters, will be made certain, or at least nearly the whole. In Governor Greene's letter to me (and I was informed he had written your Excellency fully) he observes, that the Assembly had order'd sixty thousand weight of beef to be purchased and sent on to the army, one half to be delivered by the last day of June, the remainder by the last of July; for the month of June the quantity is agreable to the estimate, but for July is the one half. On receiving the letter I immediately wrote Governor Greene and desired the full quantity requested might be granted, and for the time mentioned, without the last deviation from the requisition; this I urged as indispensibly necessary. I have not received an answer to that particular. I had a hint yesterday that it was observed by some of the Legislature at Rhode Island, that the two thousand weight p^r day was more than the requisition of Congress of Nov^r. Upon having recourse to it I find it is so, while the present estimate on the other States is much short of it; whether this

occured to the C. General, when he formed the estimate, or whether he had reasons for it, I cannot say. The Convention of Committees are to meet tomorrow for the final arrangements. Governor Greene also reports six hundred barrels of salted provisions, and eleven thousand gallons of rum in store, but apprehends that the provisions and some part of the rum will be wanted for the militia ordered to garrison Rhode Island.

I some days since again importuned the four States to forward a quantity of rum immediately and continue a regular supply. Governor Greene wrote me by yesterday's post that their Council of War had ordered five thousand gallons of rum to Hartford by water, but that it was not possible for the State to get it further. I shall write Mr Pomroy tomorrow to forward the rum if possible, but fear at this time it will be very difficult, if possible, on account of the great number of teams taken up by the French army, and for the transportation of the military stores, &c. I submit to your Excellency whether it may not be well for the Q. M. G. to afford some aid to Mr Pomroy, if in his power. The rum from this State will go on to Clavarack. I hope a quantity from Connecticut has before this time reachd the army. The clothing in the hands of M^{essrs} Otis and Henley is packing with the utmost dispatch and will go on in the course of this week. The ordnance and military stores are gone and going on. In the course of the last week I repeated my solicitations to all the States, respecting the men, provisions, clothing, and hope in the course of this week to know the final determination of each of them; afterwards I know not what further can be done by me and wish to know if it be consistant with your pleasure that I return to the army. I think I may venture to assure your Excellency that you may depend on *much* from all the Eastern States, altho possibly there will be some deficiency

I most heartily congratulate your Excellency on the successes of the American arms at the southward. Those successes are not only important in themselves, but will at this time and in that part of the continent be productive of the best consequences. They animate here. We have no news in this quarter.

I have the honor to be, with the highest respect,

Your Excellency's most obed^t ser^t.

W. HEATH.

P. S. I apprehend that when the C. General formed his estimate, all the force intended for the field was taken into view, and that nothing extra is to be done on account of the militia, but of this I wish to be informed.

WILLIAM HEATH TO JOHN HANCOCK.

ROXBURY, June 26th, 1781.

SIR, — It is now more than six weeks since the army have been experiancing the want of rum, and encountering the hot faint season and hard fatigue supported by water only. The repeated injunctions of my General, backed by the feelings of humanity, have compelled me more than once to renew my solicitations for relief. It gives me pain to reiterate them, but duty constrains me to do it, and I do once more most earnestly intreat that a quantity of rum may be *immediately* sent on for the relief of the army, and followed by a regular supply in future. As the comfort, the health and spirit of the army are essential to the public interest, and the want of these the certain source of disapointment and expence, I persuad myself relief will not be longer procrastinated.

I have the honor to be, with the highest respect,

Your Excellency's most obed^t ser^t.

W. HEATH.

Gov^r HANCOCK.

WILLIAM HEATH TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.

ROXBURY, June 27th, 1781.

DEAR GENERAL, — I am this evening honored with yours of the 20th, enclosing one to the commanding officer of the Corps of Invalids at Boston. I shall afford the commanding officer every aid in my power to facilitate his march to West Point.

I have been this evening honored with a letter from Governor Trumbull of the 20th instant giving a pritty particular account of the proceeding of the State of Connecticut respecting its quota of men and provisions for the army; but as Governor Trumbull observes, "I have made his Excellency the Commander in Chief acquainted with these things, by a letter of this date," it is unnecessary for me to repeat them.

The Hon^{ble} Mr Weare, President of New Hampshire, in a letter of the 25th, writes me, "Our General Assembly are now convened and have under consideration the important matters recommended by General Washington and yourself respecting filling up and supplying the army, and are determined to take the most vigorous measures necessary to accomplish a matter so essential to be done at this critical time." He then observes that a drove of beef cattle of forty five or fifty head will go on this week, that another drove is procuring, &c.

I am happy in the arrangement for the campaign, and hope ere long to kiss your hand in camp.

I have the honor to be, with the highest respect and esteem,

Your Excellency's most obedient servant.

W. HEATH.

His Excellency General WASHINGTON.

WILLIAM HEATH TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.

ROXBURY, July 4th, 1781.

DEAR GENERAL, — I have now the honor to enclose your Excellency copy of the proceedings of the convention who met at Providence the 26th ulto. The mode adopted for forwarding the supplies of fresh beef during the campaign I hope is reduced to a system which will be effectual in its operation, as such as will meet your approbation. The States are taking measures to ensure a seasonable purchase of the beef. It appearing to the convention that the quantity of fresh beef required of the State of New Hampshire was greater than their was a probability of their furnishing, a transfer of a part of the quantity to Massachusetts was made by mutual consent. The State of Rhode Island had previous to the meeting of the convention ordered 30,000 w^t of fresh beef to be forwarded for the month of July which, added to the quantity affixed to that State on the inclosed, will make their quota 60,000 w^t, and the whole 600,000 for the month of July. I have been laboring to obtain the necessary supply of rum. This is not yet so fully ensured as I wish, but is to-day in a more promising way than heretofore. The delay has been occasioned by the fluctuating state of the currency which has been a bar to the obtaining the rum, either by purchase or on loan, in this State. A resolution of the General Assembly which passed the day before yesterday will, I believe, remove the difficulty and put it in the power of the agent to procure a considerable quantity immediately. About twenty hhds. of very good Grenada rum of high proof is now going on. It will go to Clavarack. As this rum is of a better quality than what has or will probably go on, I beg leave to submit to your Excellency the directing the commissary general to make a distribution of it to the different parts of the army; otherwise as it will go to Clavarack, and the

northern troops by a letter I have lately received from Mr Commissary Gamble are in great want of rum, the greater part of the above mentiond without some particular direction will probably be turned to Albany.

The State agent informed me the last evening that the State have about fifty pipes of Tenerriffe wine of a good quality. It was to have been sold at vendue. It appears it will fetch but a trifle more than American rum. The agent is of opinion that this wine will not only be agreeable but beneficial to the army, especially to the officers and to the hospitals, and the State will be happy to forward it as rum. The price to the public will be but a little more than American rum and much cheaper than West India rum. I do not chuse to determine the matter myself, altho of opinion it will be very agreeable to the army, render the supply of rum more ample, and in the approaching season contribute to health. The agent has concluded not to sell it untill your pleasure is known, and will obtain a resolve of the Assembly before they rise, that in case your Excellency should think proper to have it sent on it shall be done immediately. I request your Excellency would give it a consideration, and if you approve of its being sent on signify it to Governor Hancock as soon as may be convenient, as I shall probably leave this before your answer can be received. The wine is sold at vendue at about three shillings and 4^d p^r gallon in specie. Its quality admits of its being exposed to any kind of weather without danger of receiving injury.

A vessel arrived a few days since from Spain, has brought a quantity of cloathing for the United States. The mortars, cannon, military stores, &c, are all gone on. Col^o Crane followed them yesterday.

I have the honor to be, with the greatest respect,

Your Excellency's most obedient servant.

W. HEATH.

His Excellency General WASHINGTON.

WILLIAM HEATH TO ALEXANDER McDOUGALL.

HEAD QUARTERS, PEEKSKILL, Aug^t 24th, 1781.

MY DEAR SIR, — His Excellency the Commander in Chief has been pleased to honor me with the command of all the troops in this department, expressed as follows: “You are to take command of all the troops remaining in this department, consisting of two regiments of New Hampshire, ten of Massachusetts, and five of Connecticut infantry, the corps of invalids, Sheldon’s legion, the third reg^t of artillery, together with all such State troops and militia as are retained in service, of those which would have been under my own command.” The army is at present encamped at this place. A variety of important business will claim our attention at West Point, both for the security of the post and comfort of its garrison, which I am instructed to keep in all cases equal to its present strength. I will therefore thank you for information what the strength of the garrison was on the 19th of this instant. The completion and repair of the works, magazines, &c, are an object which require immediate attention, and the seasonably securing proper magazines of salted provisions, fuel, and forage are objects also to be immediately pursued. I shall direct the commissaries to endeavor the procurement of the salted provisions. Fuel and forage must be obtained by the industry of the troops, and I request your exertions to effect it as far as is in your power. Fuel should be cut on the margin of the river and conveyd to the Point by water. In this business the army here shall assist. As I shall have frequent occasions to visit West Point, Verplank’s, &c, I will thank you to order down the barge with the crew which usually attended me, if you can spare it. Any other, either up

or down the river, which you chuse shall be at your command.

I am, with very great regard, dear Sir,

Your obed^t serv^t.

Maj^r Gen^l McDougall.

W. HEATH, *M. Gen^l*.

WILLIAM HEATH TO JOHN HANCOCK.

HEAD QUARTERS, PEEKSKILL, Augst 25th, 1781.

SIR, — His Excellency the Commander in Chief having crossed Hudson's River with a detachment of the American army and the whole French army, the command of the army in this department devolves on me. This army at present consists of the two regiments of New Hampshire, ten of Massachusetts, five of Connecticut infantry, Col^o Sheldon's reg^t of dragoons, the 3rd reg^t of artillery, corps of invalids, and several corps of levies and militia, in addition to which the militia from your Commonwealth are soon expected. My command comprehends the Northern as well as Eastern Departments, and I am specially instructed to pay attention to the security of the western and northern frontiers of this State. I hope the six hundred militia from your Commonwealth destined to Albany have before this time reached that place; if they have not, I request they may be hastened with the greatest expedition. Supplies of beef cattle have come on from the Eastern States in sufficient quantities to this time, and I hope will continue so; but there is a great deficiency in rum. None has yet arrived here from your Commonwealth; the troops suffer exceedingly for want of it. The summer clothing sent on for your troops is very insufficient. If possible an ample supply should be sent on immediately; but if this cannot be effected the winter clothing should be seasonably prepared and sent on, otherwise the troops will be in a most wretched condition.

From several late accounts we are informed a large fleet has been seen standing towards Virginia. Should any thing of consequence transpire I shall do myself the honor of transmitting your Excellency an account of it.

I have the honor to be, with the highest respect and esteem,

Your Excellency's most obedient servant.

W. HEATH, *M. General.*

His Excellency Governor HANCOCK.

WILLIAM HEATH TO JONATHAN TRUMBULL.

HEAD QUARTERS, PEEKSKILL, Aug^e: 27th, 1781.

SIR, — I was yesterday honored with yours of the 23rd p^r Major General Parsons. I shall at all times be very happy in rendering any service in my power to any State in particular, as well as to the United States in general, by curbing the excursions of the enemy or striking a blow on such of their posts as offer a tollerable prospect of success, and I am much obliged by the favorable opinion your Excellency has been pleased to form of my disposition for that purpose. But in the case proposed I cannot all things considered imagine a rational prospect of success. If the post at Lloid's Neck could be taken by surprise it might invite an attempt, but from the nature and situation of the work it is not to be expected. To reduce it by regular investiture and cannonade, while the enemy have the superiority both by land and water, within a few hours' sail by water, and not more than one day and an half march by land, seems almost preposterous, especially as General Parsons proposes to employ for the reduction of the work two 18 p^{drs}, two 12 p^{drs}, two threes and two howitz. Should the expedition be attempted with such ordnance, it would occupy at least three days after the vessels arrive at the

harbour to land the artillery, erect batteries, cannonade and reduce the place, reinbarke the artillery, &c, and I cannot suppose it possible that the enemy would delay affording succour the one half of that time, supposing they receive no knowledge of the movement untill the troops arrive at the neck. But the preparations for this attempt and the sailing of the vessels will take up some days, in which we have too much reason to apprehend the enemy will get knowledge of the design before it can even be attempted. Your Excellency is sensible if a post cannot be taken by surprise, and that batteries must be opened and heavy ordnance mounted, there ought to be a decided superiority on the side of the beseigers, not only against the enemy in the post attacked, but also to those within relieving distance; otherwise defeat, shame, and loss are the certain consequences. Upon the whole I am clearly of opinion that the attempt as *proposed* has not a sufficiently well grounded prospect of success. If at any time hereafter circumstances should offer us an opportunity to give the enemy a blow, at the place now proposed or any other, consistant with my instructions and duty, I shall most zealously embrace it.

I have the honor to be, with the highest respect,

Your Excellency's most obed. servant.

W. HEATH.

His Excellency Governor TRUMBULL.

ALEXANDER McDOUGALL TO WILLIAM HEATH.

WEST POINT, September 1st, 1781.

SIR, — I have been honored in due time with your favor of the 24th and two of the 29th ultimo. General Patterson was requested to inform you of the reason of my silence and my ideas on the most effectual mode of supplying the garrison with wood. It will be to little purpose to cut

wood at any distance from this garrison for its supply, as I know it cannot be transported. Several years experience convince me of this, and our water craft are in worse order, and more difficult to be repaired, than formerly for want of means. Half the wood cut at a distance for two years past for the post has not been transported to it before winter. For these reasons the wood to supply this garrison must be cut as near as possible to it to shorten and facilitate the transportation. And as the scows will greatly contribute to this the wide bays must be avoided. The returns sent herewith will inform you of the strength of the garrison, but there are numerous commands *stated as present* which cannot be of any aid to the garrison if the enemy attempt it by surprize, and we have no occasion to fear any other attack.

For this reason, and as I know the guard boats are of little or no security to the posts, the guards in the advanced works are strong, and the other duty of the post very considerable. In this state of the garrison two hundred men cannot be spared, nor is that number necessary, for they will at a cord per day a man cut 18,000 to the first of December, a quarter part of which will not be transported before that day.

The Boston invalids are stationed at Fish Kill, and it must be by their carelessness the beacon was fired. The detachment they releived had a guard at the beacon, and the officer who commanded was particularly instructed to give the releiving officer all the information in his power of the duty of the post and to be very particular in it. The invalids are a mere burden to the post, and when they and militia garrison the key of America, it is a shameful evidence of her inertion.

Colonel Weissenfels' regiment of new levies at Fish Kill wait your orders. A return of his strength and points on which he wants direction are inclosed. All the

artificers the garrison can spare will be furnished the D. Q. M. General, and whatever is in the power of the garrison for the accomplishments of the objects you mention will be attended to.

I have the honor to be your humble servant.

ALEX^r McDOUGALL.

Major General HEATH.

WILLIAM HEATH TO ALEXANDER McDOUGALL.

HEAD QUARTERS, PEEKSKILL, Sept. 2nd, 1781.

MY DEAR SIR, — I was yesterday honored with yours of the 1st. I agree with you that it will be best to cut large quantities of wood as convenient to the garrison as possible, as well as some on the margin of the river above and below the Point. The number of wood cutters were estimated by Col^o Hughes, who represented three hundred as absolutely necessary for the cutting of wood, timber, &c, &c. From the great number of militia that have and are to collect at West Point, I conceived 200 might easily be spared and employed. Those who are assigned to cut wood on the east side nearly opposite the garrison may be considered as almost within it. I shall order one or two regiments of regular troops to reinforce your garrison. The militia which have already come in will be much encreased. A large proportion of them will be assigned to the garrison, and should the enemy at any time make a movement that should indicate a design against the posts in the Highlands they will be immediately covered by a part or the whole of the army as may be necessary, for which purpose I shall always occupy a post that will enable me to effect it. Col^o Webb's reg^t of Massachusetts militia is to be formed here where a part of them have already arrived. I request you will order such as have or may arrive at West Point belonging to that reg^t to this place. Colonel Weissenfels' reg^t shall be ordered to

the army or the garrison, as you think will be most conducive to the service. If the latter, Cap^t Hunt's company may remain on the lines, where it may be very serviceable. His Excellency Governor Clinton has this day represented the reg^t as a very good one.

But little active service can be expected from the invalids. They may be of essential service in defence of works. When Col^o Weissenfels' reg^t moves from Fishkill, if they have been doing duty there, and the invalids are not a sufficient guard for the stores, please order such detachment as may be necessary. I wish to know your opinion of the best destination for Col^o Weissenfels' reg^t as soon as may be convenient. Altho your calculation of the quantity of wood which at a cord a day may be cut before December, I believe, if we may judge from the experience of former years, not one quarter of that quantity will be cut.

I shall order the 7th Massachusetts reg^t to the Point the day after to-morrow if vessels or boats can be obtained to transport their baggage, &c.

Robertson's New York paper of the 30th ult^o gives an account that last Tuesday morning Rear Admiral Sir Sam^l Hood arrived at Sandy Hook from the West Indies with 14 sail of the line, four frigates, a sloop, and fire-ship, — the *Barfleur* of 90 guns and thirteen of 74, three of 44, one of 28, a sloop and fire ship. On board the fleet came the first battalion of the Royal, the 13th and 69th reg^{ts}. These reg^{ts} probably are much reduced by sickness in the West Indies.

I have the honor to be, with very great regard, dear Sir,

Your obed^t serv^t.

W. HEATH, *M. General.*

P. S. Yours of this date, with the return of militia, is this moment come to hand.

W. H.

Major Gen^l McDougall.

WILLIAM HEATH TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.

HEAD QUARTERS, PEEKSKILL, Sep^t 2nd, 1781.

DEAR GENERAL, — I was the last evening honored with yours of the 29th ulto. The dispatches for the eastern States will be forwarded this day. A gentleman who returned with a flag from the enemies' guard ships this morning informs me that the British officers told him a fleet of upwards twenty sail of men of war had arrived at New York, another officer said seventeen sail. I am this moment informed by another person that the fleet consists of fourteen sail of the line under the command of Admiral Hood, and that four thousand Hessian troops, very sickly, have arrived in the fleet. This last account is brought by a person who is lately exchanged, perhaps he may be mistaken as to the troops, who may possibly be those who arrived some time since.

I have the honor to be, with the highest respect,

Your Excellency's most obedient serv^t.

W. HEATH.

P. S. The British officer told the gentleman who was down with the flag that you had march to save Philadelphia, which was threatned by Lord Cornwallis who was within thirty miles of it.

His Excellency General WASHINGTON.

WILLIAM HEATH TO THOMAS MCKEAN.*

HEAD QUARTERS, PEEKSKILL, Sep^t 5th, 1781.

SIR, — His Excellency the Commander in Chief of the armies of the United States of America having gone to

* Thomas McKean was born in New London, Chester County, Penn., March 19, 1734, and died in Philadelphia June 24, 1817. He received a good education in his native town

the southward, the command of the army, posts and garrisons in this department devolve on me. The army at present consists of two regiments of New Hampshire, ten of Massachusetts and five of Connecticut infantry, the 2nd reg^t light dragoons, 3rd reg^t of artillery, invalid regiment, and several corps of levies and militia. I have the honor enclosed to present to the Hon^{ble} the Congress returns of the regular troops under my command, conformable to the act of Congress of the 3rd October, 1780. This return should have been made more punctually as to the time, but the movements of the army, and my but just receiving the command has prevented. I hope the candor of Congress will excuse it. By this same conveyance the monthly returns are sent, as far as have been collected; those from Albany have not been obtained, probably they have been sent to the Adj^t General of the army. It will be the endeavour of the D. A. Gen^l to have the next returns as perfect as possible.

In a letter which I had the honor to receive a few days since from his Excellency General Washington, dated at Trenton the 29th ulto., he was pleased to inform me that four hundred militia from the State of New Hampshire, eighteen hundred from Massachusetts, fourteen hundred from Connecticut, and five hundred from New Jersey, being two thirds the number originally called for, were still requested for my aid. These are daily coming in.

I have for the present taken a position at this place as being the best situated to cover the important posts in the Highlands, which I view as the first and principal object, and at the same time to cover the country and

and was admitted to the bar before he became of age. His public life began almost immediately afterward; and after filling numerous inferior positions he was, from 1774 till 1783, a member of the Continental Congress from Delaware. From 1777 to 1799 he was Chief Justice of Pennsylvania, while holding other offices in Delaware. See Appleton's *Cyclopædia of American Biography*, vol. iv. pp. 127, 128. — Eds.

lend aid to the militia on either side of the Hudson, should the enemy attempt any excursions from New York. I shall endeavour also to pay particular attention to the northern district of this State, and have written to General Stark for a minute state of affairs in that quarter. This army have at present a tollerable supply of flour for immediate use, and an ample supply of fresh beef, but the importance of West Point and its dependencies require that ample magazines of flour and salted provisions should be deposited there for any emergency that may happen to effect it. No exertions of mine shall be wanting, but without the support of Congress all my exertions will be ineffectual. I therefore beg leave to submit this important object to their consideration, that effectual measure may be adopted.

Forage I am apprehensive will be very difficult, if possible, to be obtained without some special aid from Congress. I am at present drawing forage from below the army, but the quantities on the lines will not be more than sufficient for a temporary supply. His Excellency Governor Clinton in a letter to me of the 1st inst. observes, — “There have not been any requisitions for forage made on this State, and I presume the necessary supply can be obtained in no other way than by purchase.” Thus circumstanced Congress will see our situation, and I hope in some way afford seasonable relief. The condition of the army as to pay and clothing is fully known to Congress and while I flituate Congress and my country on the reported success of Col^o Laurens’ embassy I flatter myself the army will soon experience the happy effects of it, both in pay and clothing, at the same time that it establishes the finances of our country on a perminant basis.

I pray your Excellency will be pleased to assure Congress that it will be the heighth of my ambition to execute their commands whenever signified, and I beg leave to

submit my present command, which is both extensive and expensive, to their consideration.

I have the honor to be, with the highest respect,
Your Excellency's most obedient servant,

W. HEATH.

P. S. I request Congress to favor me with such of their acts and resolutions as respect the army.

7 o'clock P. M.

I am this moment informed that yesterday at 12 o'clock a fleet of about 26 sail, some of them large vessels, passed by Stamford to the eastward, but whether they were merchant ships or transports with troops my informant does not mention.

W. HEATH.

His Excellency THOMAS MCKEAN, Esquire, President of Congress.

WILLIAM HEATH TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.

HEAD QUARTERS, PEEKSKILL, Sept^r 7th, 1781.

DEAR GENERAL, — I did my self the honor of writing your Excellency yesterday by M^r Flint, who was on his way to the army. This will probably reach you sooner. The southern post rider was undoubtedly taken on Monday last near Pompton, and the mail carried off; this probably will furnish M^r Rivington with materials for some weeks to come.

On the 4th at 12 o'clock a fleet of about 26 sail, some of them large vessells, passed by Stamford to the eastward; but whether they had troops on board or not my informant did not mention. It is said Admiral Sir Samuel Hood has put to sea with 16 sail of the line.

The last evening I received information from Cap^t Pray at the block house, that all the enemy's guard ships in the North River above Fort Washington had gone down the river; not a vessel was to be seen. Cap^t

Pray was going down to make further discoveries. It is reported an embargo is takeing place in New York. We have no other news at present.

I have the honor to be, with the greatest respect,
Your Excellency's most obed^t serv^t.

W. HEATH.

His Excellency General WASHINGTON.

JONATHAN TRUMBULL TO WILLIAM HEATH.*

HARTFORD, 7th Sept, 1781.

SIR, — The enemy yesterday made a descent upon the town of New London, and by the advices I have received are about 2,000 men, besides a body of light horse, perhaps 300, about 40 ships of war & transports. By this enterprize they have posses'd of the only harbour of importance within this State and property to a very great amount, perhaps 400,000 pounds. Norwich, about fourteen miles up the river, is an object of very great importance, & I fear will be destroyd. We shall use our utmost efforts to save that town, which is the most we can expect to accomplish. As desultory expeditions are without a doubt meditated upon different parts of this State, I must beg you to order part of the troops under your command to such stations as will give some protection to the western parts of the State. New Haven is an object of great consequence, and I have reason to fear an attempt will be made to destroy it. Three hundred men, if you cannot spare us more, will be of essential service in this day of distress. These being disciplined troops will serve as a body to which the militia can collect & form. The guards under Colonel Putnam & Col. Sheldon may render essential service on the western coast of the State if the enemy

* Heath's answer to this letter is printed in 7 Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. iii. pp. 270-272. — EDS.

should attempt the destruction of those towns. I must therefore intreat you to give orders to those troops to march to the coast on any demonstration the enemy may make of an attack. Your readiness to assist any of the States in repeling the invasions of the enemy leaves me no room to doubt of your affording us any assistance in your power.

General Parsons who was returning to camp, I have desired to remain in the State for the present.

I am, with esteem & respect,

Your most obed^t serv^t.

JONTH TRUMBULL.

Maj^r General HEATH.

WILLIAM HEATH TO RUFUS PUTNAM.

HEAD QUARTERS, PEEKSKILL, Sep^t 8th, 1781.

DEAR SIR, — I have this moment received information, that a body of the enemy have landed at New London, and were plundering if not burning the town; as their barbarity may lead them to perpetrate the same cruelties along the Sound, in order to afford aid and give countenance to the militia, I have determined to put a part of your detachment in motion towards Stanford, that they may be within relieving distance should the enemy attempt any thing in that quarter. You will therefore please early in the morning to detach Major Tallmadge and Trescot with twenty mounted dragoons and two hundred infantry, with two days' provisions. And it may be well for your commissaries' assistant to go with them with a small quantity of provisions in reserve to move on towards Stanford. If Major Tallmadge should hear the enemy have returned he will return; if not let him remain a few days in the vicinity of Canaan or some where thereabouts. During the absence of this part of

your detachment you will act with great precaution and let me know if further reinforcement be necessary for you.

I am, with great regard, dear Sir,
Your obedient serv^t.

W. HEATH, *M. General*.

Col^o PUTNAM.

WILLIAM HEATH TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.*

HEAD QUARTERS, PEEKSKILL, Sept 9th, 1781.

DEAR GENERAL, — I was the last evening honored with yours of the 4th, to which I shall pay attention as it respects placing persons at the ferries to intercept deserters and forwarding cattle.

I mentioned in mine of the 7th that a fleet of 26 sail passed Stanford to the eastward on the 4th. I have received no official accounts since, but a paper handed from the militia of one town to another reached me yesterday, of which the enclosed is copy, on which I ordered two hundred regular troops to move towards Stanford, that in case the enemy should have designs of burning the seaport towns on the Sound on their return, the regular troops may be at hand to give countenance to the militia. I have also received intelligence from Albany that some parties from Canada are to make an attempt by surprise to burn that city, to prevent which I have ordered two companies of Wiessinfels' reg^t of levies to that place. We are busily employed in moveing off the forage from below, and now and then catch some of the Cow Boys. The naval force of our illustrious ally being so greatly superior to that of the British, whose fleet by their own acco^t is but nineteen sail of the line, will I

* Washington's answer to this letter and the letter of September 12 is printed in 5 Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. iv. pp. 222, 223. — Eds.

apprehend prevent the enemy makeing any manœuvres to the southward to divert the blow impending over Lord Cornwallis; but suppose Sir Henry will be active in this quarter. It is hinted to me that he will. I shall endeavour that he does not outgeneral me. As the primary object I shall (be his movements what they may) cover the posts in the Highlands, and if he attempts to plunder or burn in Connecticut or the Jersies, as he probably will, with design to draw of my principal force, employ such detachments only to aid the militia as will not endanger the posts.

The shipping in the harbour by my last accounts were principally collected between the city and Gibbit Island.

I am informed that copy of a general order respect^s Cap^t Livermore and Major Murnan was sent to me, it probably was taken with the southern mail; it has not come to hand.

I have the honor to be, with the highest respect,

Your Excellency's most obed^t serv^t.

W. HEATH.

His Excellency General WASHINGTON.

RICHARD PETERS TO WILLIAM HEATH.

WAR OFFICE, Sept^r 11, 1781.

SIR, — The bearer waits on you with instructions from the Honble. Robert Morris, Esq., Superintendant of Finance, relative to the transport of the specie lately arrived at Boston. The route will be pointed out in those instructions. You will be pleased to detach to Boston a captain, two subs., and the proper number of non com^d officers, with thirty six light dragoons as an escort. You will be pleased to furnish the commanding officer of this detachment with the necessary orders to perform all

the military duty required for the safety of the money, taking the advice of the bearer as to the route and other matters essential to the bussiness and, lest there should be any difficulties on this subject, we beg you to send a prudent officer properly informed that the bearer, being answerable for the charge committed to him, is to be consulted upon every occasion not of a military nature. He is furnished with the means of supporting the escort. We presume that it will be necessary to have about one hundred foot properly officered in addition to the horse. You will please to adjust with the bearer the time and place when and where the infantry shall join the escort on the return from Boston and how far they shall proceed on the way to Philadelphia. Should you deem a greater number of horse or foot necessary we leave you at liberty to add to the numbers required. We are averse upon common occasions from diminishing your operating force; but this bussiness is so important that we beg you to afford the assistance requested. It will be also necessary that you have the dangerous country thro' N. York and Jersey covered by strong detachments on the enemy's lines during the passage of the treasure thro' those parts.

We have been honoured with your letters of the 31st ulto. and 5th inst., and shall lay the subjects of them before Congress and duly inform you of the result.

We have the honour to be, with much respect and esteem,

Your very obed. servants.

RICHARD PETERS,
By Order

P. S. The gentleman appointed by Mr Morris is Tench Francis, Esq^r, to whom as well as Major Nicholas, who accompanies him, we request your attention in the prosecution of their bussiness.

Honble. Major General HEATH.

JOHN STARK * TO WILLIAM HEATH.

SARATOGA, 11th Sept^r, 1781.

DEAR SIR, — Yours of the 3^d and 7th inst^s are now before me; the former was rec^d last evening, and the other this day. By your not acknowledging the rec^t of my former letters, I am led to believe you never rec^d them, but certainly they must have reached you before this. In them you will find the reason of my not sending you a return, and the same difficulty that then existed is not yet removed, therefore you must not expect a return, untill the materials are supplied to make it with. However, I can tell the numbers in the garrison, which consists of 2 majors, 7 capt^s, 11 subs., 27 seajt^s; and 360 rank and file. We have about ten rounds of cartridges per man, and no more ammunition in store. I wrote to General Knox for a supply some time ago, but have neither rec^d the ammunition nor an answer, but I hope for them every hour. I have no Dep^y Adj^t General, nor have I one that I can appoint, capable of the business, who is willing to undertake it: be assured, Sir, that whenever you shall think proper to send me a supply of paper and appoint a Dep^y Adj^t General, either from your army or some one that you know in this district, the business shall be done regularly and I hope to your satisfaction, but till then I cannot tell how it will be transacted.

You will percieve by the number of men in this garrison that it would be very imprudent to detatch any of them to Albany, but I expect a few more militia in every day; notwithstanding this, I cannot think myself justifiable to spare any men from this or any of the frontiers (without your positive order) untill we are much stronger than we are now. And indeed was I ever so strong, Albany is a very dangerous place to trust men in, for

* For a Life of John Stark, by Edward Everett, see Sparks's American Biography, vol. i. pp. 3-116. — Eds.

was I to send a company there I should expect they would have one half of them in jail, and the other half to keep them there, in less than a month; for I inform you, Sir, that they have more than one continental soldier in jail for depts or pretended depts already, and now they are calling for more, perhaps for the same purpose. It appears to me, Sir, that some villains have determined to try whither they can detain a continental soldier in jail for dept or not, and by the assistance those patriotic gentlemen have had from the magistrates of Albany, they have been enabled to carry their nefarious plan into execution. Further, Sir, Albany is able to turn out 500 men for their own defence, and a larger body than 50 cannot well come against them, and if ten virtuous citizens is not able to defend themselves against the assaults of one sculking rascall of a Tory or an Indian, it is very remarkable, especially as they have got forts, and walls to cover them, almost beyond the power of human force to shake. But, my dear Sir, if you have any men to spare from the army, I expect they will soon be wanted at this place, as I have this day almost certain intelligence of their being a large detachment of the enemy at St Johns destined for this quarter; perhaps they may come before you can possibly send me any assistance, but I hope not.

I am sorry, Sir, that among the rest of my calamities (which are all occasioned by poverty) it is not in my power to send an express forty miles, unless by dispatching a soldier on foot with his provision on his back: and in case the enemy should approach I shall be under the necessity (if possible) to send expresses to Hampshire and Berkshire counties, to Albany, and to the Grants; this business, Sir, will require good horses and horsemen, and neither of them is to be had here; and was there any horses there is no money to pay their expences nor forrage to keep them on, nor none of either can I get. I

have applied to the Governor for forrage, but he says that Congress has not required it of the State, and without that requisition he cannot give a warrant to impress it, and that he supposes that Congress has lodged money in the hands of the proper officers, to procure it.

I am, dear Sir, with the greatest respect and esteem,

Your most obedient and very h^e ser^t.

JOHN STARK.

Major Gen^l HEATH.

ROBERT MORRIS* TO WILLIAM HEATH.

OFFICE OF FINANCE, PHILADELPHIA, Sept. 11th, 1781.

SIR, — Enclosed is an order from the Board of War to send a party of dragoons to Boston to escort thence a considerable sum of money belonging to the United States, which I trust you will comply with in the manner most proper. M^r Francis, the bearer of this letter, is charged with the care of the transportation, and now waits upon you to concert such measures as may be necessary.

I also enclose an extract from my instructions to M^r Francis, which will place you in a situation to give him the occasional directions which he may stand in need of, or which the motions of the enemy or other circumstances may require. I would recommend secrecy, and mention that the interests of the United States and of the army require the greatest care to be used with respect to this money; but your character, Sir, renders every such caution unnecessary, for I am convinced that you will be as forcibly impressed with those sentiments as I can be.

I am very respectfully, Sir,

Your most obed^t, humble serv^t.

ROB^t MORRIS.

Hon^{ble} General HEATH.

* For a notice of Robert Morris, see 7 Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. iii. p. 225 n. — Eds.

EXTRACT FROM INSTRUCTIONS TO TENCH FRANCIS.

Inclosed you have an order to General Heath for an escort of dragoons, who will proceed to Boston so as to be ready to set off by the time you shall have got every thing in readiness, which I hope and expect will be very speedily. I presume that General Heath will give the proper orders to the officer commanding the escort, for mounting guards where you stop and taking proper positions along the road ; but if any thing of this sort should be omitted, you will yourself apply to the officer on the subject ; and, lest he should conceive an impropriety in the application, shew this letter to him, and request his particular care and attention.

From Boston to Philadelphia the following rout is recommended to me, which may nevertheless be altered, as time and circumstances shall require, for greater safety. From Boston to Worcester, to Springfield, to Greenwood, to Salisbury, to Fishkill, to New Windsor or Newburgh, to Sussex Court House or Newton, to Easton, to Philadelphia.

When you shall have arrived at Salisbury you will send to Gen^l Heath and let him know your intended rout, that he may take such positions from time to time as will cover you perfectly ; and also, that he may give you his directions as to what may be proper for you to do in order to avoid all risque ; which directions you will comply with.

I think it would be useful that while you are in the dangerous parts of the States of New York and New Jersey, you should be escorted by an additional number of dragoons and also by a party of infantry ; but I shall submit this to General Heath, who will be the best judge. At any rate it will be usefull that the teams men be armed each with a good musket and bayonet ; because they may

then assist the cavalry in case of an attack. The arms may be furnished for this purpose from the public magazines, and they may be again lodged in the public magazines here.

Should you upon information find that the weight I propose will be by any means inconvenient or productive of delay, let the smaller boxes contain a lesser quantity so as to accomodate the matter better and increase the number of teams proportionately. On the road from Boston you will pay the expences of the escort, &c., and you will study to render the expence as light as possible. It may be useful to encourage the guard with the hope of reward; if upon information you find it proper you may on my part promise one month's pay in specie on their arrival at this place.

Keep all your motions and intentions secret, and give out that you mean to go from Springfield to Claverack, from Claverack to Rhinebeck, from Rhinebeck to Esopus, from Esopus to Minisink, from Minisink to Easton, and when you quit the rout to go to Fishkill, move with as much rapidity as your cattle will permit. Take care therefore to have good cattle and spare them in the begining of the route.

WILLIAM HEATH TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.

HEAD QUARTERS, CONTINENTAL VILLAGE, Sept^r 12th, 1781.

DEAR GENERAL, — I have this day been honored with yours of the 7, permit me to felicitate your Excellency on the promising prospects of success which seem to be almost within your grasp, — may Heaven crown your most sanguine expectations. One hundred beef cattle went from hence this day for the army under your immediate command: they will be followed by a like number weekly. Attention shall be paid to the small

clothing mentioned if any has or shall come on, and to deserters.

The enemy have destroyed a considerable part of the town of New London and killed a number of its valluable inhabitants, among whom are Colonel Ledyard, Cap^t Saltonstall, Richardson and others; the militia turned out with spirit and tis said behaved gallantly. I have obtained no official accounts, and those brought by others are as various as the persons who relate them. The enclosed from Gen^l Huntington came to hand this evening. I had detached him with three hundred men to cover Major Tallmade, who I had pushed towards New Haven upon the first official intelligence I received from Governor Trumbull of the enemy's depredations. I believe the movements of the troops have saved Stamford and the adjoining towns, and prevented another detachment of the enemy moving from Kingsbridge to meet those coming down the Sound by water. Worm and Delancey are said to have been for several days shoeing their horses, &c. Sir Henry Clinton is in great rage, but knows not how to vent it; it is said he has called out the militia, is collecting his forces, and is determined to make one great effort in favor of Lord Cornwallis, and that he intends to move somewhere with six or seven thousand men. The Jerseys are hinted, and some conjecture Philadelphia; his designs may be against the important posts in the Highlands, and his late manœuvres aimed to draw my force from them that he may suddenly push up the said river, his bait will not be taken. I shall effectually cover the posts, shall besides lend such detachments as can safely be spared to give countenance to the militia where he may direct his desultry operations and possibly gore his sides. I think the two companies sent to Albany will secure that quarter. I have removed the army to Bald Hill and thrown a reinforcement into the garrison of West Point. My present position effectually covers the

posts in the Highlands and affords me a better opportunity to make detachments with safety to such places as the movements of the enemy may require. Mr Rivington saies Admiral Digby is soon expected with a powerfull squadron in these seas.

Mr Pomroy, the D. Q. M. at Hartford, informs me that a quantity of salted provisions some time since shipped at Hartford for Rhode Island to take the advantage of the French convoy to the southward arrived too late; the fleet had sailed. He is applying to me for directions what to do with it. I will thank your Excellency for directions, which shall be communicated to Mr Pomeroy.

I have the honor to be, with the highest respect and esteem,

Your Excellency's most-obod^t serv^t.

W. HEATH.

His Excellency Gen^l WASHINGTON.

JOHN HANCOCK TO WILLIAM HEATH.

Boston, September 12th, 1781.

SIR,—I have had the honor of your letters of 25th of August, 2^d, 3^d, 6th, and 7th of September, and am much pleased that during the absence of the illustrious Commander in Chief at the southward, the command of the army in the Eastern and Northern Department rests with you, confident I am that your attention, vigilance and military abilities and exertions will derive honor to yourself, and be productive of much advantage to our country.

I have not yet received regular returns respecting the march of the men for three months, but from the repeated orders I have given, I must suppose that the whole of them by this time are at or near the place of their destination, as also those destined for Albany. I

am happy to find that the supply of beef is so regular and in sufficient quantities, and from the assurances given me by our purchasing commissary M^r Phelps, I think I can venture to say that the supply will be as regular in succeeding months.

Our Assembly meets this day, and I shall lay before them your letter respecting the cloathing for our troops, and will acquaint you as early as possible with their resolutions on the subject.

A quantity of rum has laid some time at Springfield for want of the means of transportation; however, I have at length put it in motion, and I hope some will very quickly be with you. The salted provisions have also been ordered on, and I think must be arrived with you before this reaches you.

I am much obliged by your frequent communications of public intelligence. You may depend that I shall not fail upon all occasions to communicate to you every occurrence of an interesting nature, and with respect to any matters in reference to the army, yourself, or the public that may depend on any influence or exertions of mine, upon your signifying to me your wish, you shall find an instant attention, and as far as in my power speedy compliance.

I wish you very happy, and am, with real and unfeigned esteem, dear Sir,

Your most obed^t serv^t.

Hon^y Major General HEATH.

JOHN HANCOCK.

BENJAMIN TALLMADGE TO WILLIAM HEATH.

CANAAN, Sept^r 13th, 1781.

DEAR GEN^l,—I was very happy in receiving your orders of the 11th inst^t on the evening of the same day.

At 2 o'clock in the morn^g of the 12th the detachment under my command marched from Bedford New Purchase (to which place we had returnd) towards Stamford, where from the very pressing information I had rec^d I fully believed the enemy had landed. I halted before the troops had reached the town, and found that the fleet which the night before had anchored off Stamford had weighed anchor and stood over to Long Island. After this the greatest part of them stood westward, some remained in Huntington Bay, and some square-rigged vessels sailed eastward. Under these circumstances I moved the troops to this place as a more central position. I am a little at a loss to conjecture what the next movements of the enemy will be; some suppose that the warm reception they met with at New London will induce them to give over any further attempts on the coast, while others are full in opinion that they have retired a little to the westward to give time for the militia to return home, and then prosecute the original plans of their expedition, which I am well convinced was to burn the towns on the seacoast of this State.

I have this morning conferred with Gen^l Huntington on the subject, who recommends that while he returns with his brigade, we should tarry in this quarter a day or two longer, when the enemies' intentions will be more fully discovered.

When I last had the honor of seeing you, I mentioned the possibility of striking the enemy in some of their detached posts on Long Island, and was happy to find in you a disposition to accomplish it. I have had accounts from that quarter yesterday, and find that the enemy are about to establish a post at a place called Smith Town, on Long Island, nearly opposite to Norwalk, which if effected will greatly distress the inhabitants on both shoars, and I fear compleatly ruin my chain of secret intelligence. I have got the person who was employed

by them to lay out the ground fully in my interest, and expect very soon to hear further from him, and if 40, 60, or 100 men should undertake to erect works at that place, it would give me infinite satisfaction to have the permission of my Gen^l to beat up their quarters. I am also informed that there is a considerable detachment of troops coming down the island to forage. This will be another object of consequence, and if prudently managed, I have no doubt they might be attacked with success. Fort Slongo on Treadwell's bank, and Fort Franklin on Loyd's neck (against which the French undertook an enterprize) I cannot believe impregnable. I should be happy to undertake an enterprize against either of them. At any rate a stroke upon either of those detachments of the enemy might serve as a diversion in our favour, whilst they are meditating a movement either into the Jersies or to the eastward. The moment I hear from my *agent* I shall be much better able to judge, and in the mean time shall be perfectly ready for a movement. I shall have no difficulty on acc^t of provision.

I have to have some private intelligence for you very shortly. Inclosed is a letter from a very confidential agent, which was delayed arriving in season by the defection of the two men now in your provost. If either of those men should be deemed objects of mercy, Flanders bears the best character. Brown is undoubtedly ruined.

I am, my dear General, with sentiments of the greatest regard,

Your most obed^t serv^t.

BENJ^A TALLMADGE.

Gen^l HEATH.

SECRET INFORMATION FROM NEW YORK.*

SIR,—I have it now in my power to assure you that the troops who arrived last at N. Y. were directly from Germany, consisting of rather better than two thousand recruits, to fill up the Hessian regiments; they are very sickly, and die fast. The British fleet has arrived, from where not known. One thing, however, you may take for granted, and that is that they are in very bad order. The Roebuck has not yet returned from Halifax where she went to repair. The Robust lies at the ship yards condemn^d and is soon to go to England with her lower deck guns only. The Prudent, of 64 guns, lies at the yards; they began to repair her, but on strict examination she was condemned, and is to go home with the Robust. The above account of the shipping is true, and I give you the information from my having been an eye witness of it. And as to their going home under the sentence of condemnation, I could site the most incontestable evidence. The situation of the troops in and about N. Y. is the same as in my last. There are not more than 300 troops on Staten Island. The militia are out frequently, and often reviewed by the Gov^r and commandant, who put much dependence upon them in case of an invasion (they do constant duty in town), but should that time ever happen, which God send, you may rely upon it that their officers will not dare command them. The militia of King's, and Queen's County may be active, unless they should be panic struck which is very probable. Upon the whole I think you have but little to fear from exersions from any quarter, unless they have a reinforcement. There are only 4 sail of the line now at N. Y., and as to any assistance from puting trans-

* Enclosed in Major Tallmadge's letter of September 13. — EDS.

ports into the service to act as sloops of war, they positively can have none for want of men to man them.

Liberty is granted to the reffugees to come upon the farms of those who have stayed peaceably at home, for the purpose of cutting wood for government, paying five pounds an acre for the wood standing. About 300 of them are going to establish a post at Stony-brook Harbour near Smith Town for that purpose. Should they get footing they will distress the inhabitants exceedingly, and from their situation and strength may give you much trouble.

I am, with esteem, your humble serv^t.

S. G.

August 28, 1781.

WILLIAM HEATH TO BENJAMIN TALLMADGE.

HEAD QUARTERS, CONTINENTAL VILLAGE, Sept 14, 1781.

DEAR SIR, — Your favor of yesterday came safe to hand. I approve the steps you have taken with your detachment, and thank you for the intelligence communicated. It is my wish not only to curb the enemy in their excursions, but to strike any of their posts or detachments that afford a good prospect of success, and I shall be very happy in improving you as an instrument at such places as you may think practicable, without risking too much. The intended post at Smith Town and probably several others may be carried without much loss. The fort at Lloyd's neck I am rather apprehensive will be more difficult to carry by *assault*, which you are sensible must be the mode with respect to any of the enemy's posts or detachments on Long Island, untill we have a superiority by water. But where ever you think an attempt will succeed you may depend on my concurrence. Of your designs please from time to time to advise me. Please also to collect all the intelligence possible of the enemies' posts and numbers. Probably

we may strike them in more places than one ; would it be practicable for a detachment in boats to pass down to Morrissania and land below Delancey's corps to cut off his retreat while another proceed by land ; think of this and let me know your opinion. However, let not this delay any thing else you have now ready or nearly ready to be attempted.

I am, with great regard, dear Sir, your obed^t serv^t.

W. HEATH, *M. Gen^l*.

P. S. Do you wish to have the letter you enclosed sent back? if you do, it shall be done in my next.

W. H.

Major TALLMADGE.

JONATHAN TRUMBULL TO WILLIAM HEATH.

HARTFORD, Sep^r 15th, 1781.

SIR, — I received your favour of the 10th ins^t this morning, and improve the earliest opportunity to express the high sense we have of the obligations which your vigilance and attention to the protection of this State in the late invasion of the enemy has laid us under, and have the fullest reliance on your future exertions as far as your situation and a necessary attention to the important posts under your command will admit.

The enemies' expedition to New London was conducted with so much secrecy and the attack so sudden and unexpected that no succour could be seasonably afforded, notwithstanding the spirited exertions of the militia who turned out with readiness. We have put the seacoast in as good a posture of defence as our circumstances will permit, and shall be very attentive in forwarding the earliest intelligence of any movement of the enemy that may come to my knowledge.

Gen^l Parsons is gone to the westward, and will communicate the powers and instructions which he has re-

ceived, and wish that the troops under your command and the militia of this State might be so arranged as to co-operate to the best advantage and most effectually to counteract and annoy the enemy.

I know not from what cause yours of the 3^d inst^t did not come to hand untill the afternoon of this day. I thank you for the intelligence it contains.

I am, with sentiments of esteem & regard, dear General,
Your obedient, humble servant.

JONTH TRUMBULL.

Maj. General HEATH.

WILLIAM LIVINGSTON * TO WILLIAM HEATH.

TRENTON, 15 Sept., 1781.

SIR, — I have received your favour of the 4th instant; and was before the receipt of it honoured with a letter from General Washington, acquainting me that upon his going to the southward, the command of the army to the northward had devolved upon you.

I hope with you, Sir, that the army you command is sufficient to secure the important posts in the Highlands, and with the exertions of the neighbouring States in a good degree to check the excursions of the enemy from New York.

By the last returns I had of what we call our three months men, I doubt not the five hundred are by this time complete. They are under the command of Coll^o Sylvanus Seely, whose head quarters are at Connecticut Farms, about four miles from Elizabeth Town, and about seven from Staten Island. From these he keeps constant out posts and pickets along the lines, to prevent the incursions of the enemy, and to suppress the illicit infernal trade that is carried on with them. He cannot, I think, be more advantageously posted in any part of this

* For a notice of Governor Livingston, see 7 Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. ii. p. 424 n. — Eds.

State for either of those purposes; and we should be very unhappy to think that he should be ordered out of it, not only because the men were expressly raised upon General Washington's requisition, grounded upon his professed design to attack New York, but also because, not being able to complete our quota from the militia, I ordered several companies of our State regiment then on those lines, and raised for the very purpose of defending our frontiers, to join him; and which accordingly now make a considerable part of his corps. While they remain on their present station, they will, I hope, prove sufficient to repel any excursions made by the enemy's partizan parties, and that you will in case of greater force endeavour on seasonable notice to succour and support the militia according to your kind promise, for which I acknowledge myself under the greatest obligations to you.

Should Cornwallis experience the fate of Burgoyne, of which his Lordship has a very fair prospect, it is probable that Clinton will endeavour to procure some splendor by the blaze of houses, and the stealing of forage, of which this State, from its vicinity to the enemy, is the most likely to feel the effects; but should he penetrate the country, and discover the least disposition to make a settlement, we shall then hope, Sir, as far as circumstances will allow, for your assistance in compelling him to change his quarters.

I have the honor to be, with great esteem, Sir,

Your most humble servant.

WIL. LIVINGSTON.

Major General HEATH.

WILLIAM HEATH TO MESHECH WEARE.

HEAD QUARTERS, CONTINENTAL VILLAGE, Sept. 17th, 1781.

SIR,—I have received undoubted intelligence from Canada that the enemy have for some time been build-

ing canoes and small batteaux at S^t Johns, bakeing hard bread at Montreal and forwarding it to the same place; and this morning I learn that a brigade of troops have arrived at S^t Johns from Quebeck. This renders it very apparant that the enemy have designs on the frontiers some where; from the reported size of the small craft, they seem calculated for the creeks and rivers towards the settlements on the head of Connecticut River rather than to cross the lakes; in that case the western militia of your State can best lend them aid. I submit to you the cautioning them to be in readiness for the purpose. I have sent a reinforcement to Albany, but the importance of the posts in the Highlands and present situation of the army are such as forbid my makeing any considerable detachments to a distance, and constrain me to request that the number of militia called for from your State in his Excellency's last letter may be sent on immediately. They may, if not already on their march this way, rendezvous at Charlestown, N. 4, and remain there (or in case the enemy should attack the settlements above march to their aid) untill further orders; in such case please order the Issuing Commissary in your State to see that they are served with provisions while detained in the State.

I have the honor to be, with great regard,

Your Honor's most obed^t serv^t.

W. HEATH.

P. S. In case the militia rendezvous at Charlestown please direct the commanding officer to report to me his name, rank, and the number of militia with him.

W. H.

HON. MESHECH WEARE, Esquire.

MESHECH WEARE TO WILLIAM HEATH.

HAMPTON FALLS, Sep^r 17, 1781.

SIR, — On the 10th instant I had the honer of receiving your favor inclosing General Washington's letter, for the militia to march as speedily as may be to joyn the army now under your command. Agreeable to which orders were immediately given for 400 militia to march to be at Springfield by the 25th instant, which I hope some will be able to accomplish; but by reason of the distance we had to send orders for the men to march, and afterwards for the men to travil, I apprehend it will be something longer before they can generally get there. I am fully impress^d with the importance of their joyning your army as soon as possible, and no exertion shall be wanting to forward them. I am likewise honord with your favor informing me of the arrival of the English fleet at New York. Every intelligence at this important crisis is deeply interesting, and I shall gratefully acknowledge the favor of such intelligence as you may from time to time have opportunity to communicate.

I am, with great esteem and respect, Sir,

Y^r ob^t and hum^{le} ser^t.

MESHECH WEARE.

Hon^{le} Maj^r Gen^l HEATH.

SAMUEL H. PARSONS TO WILLIAM HEATH.

STAMFORD, 17th Sep^r, 1781.

DEAR GENERAL, — By the desire of the Governor and Council I have come to this place to take command of the State troops, and coast guards in the western part of this State and such continental troops as you are pleas'd to send for the protection of this State. Of this I sup-

pose the Governor has informd you, as he assur'd me he would immediately do, that I might not fall under your censure for continuing out of camp. The desultory expeditions adopted by the enemy are alarming indeed to this State and from the local situation of it their danger is greater than that of any other State. A fleet consisting of forty sail of small vessels and three arm'd vessels pas'd this place eastward on Saturday night, and this morning a firing is heard eastward, but seems at a great distance. I immediately dispatch'd expresses to the coast as far as Newport, advising of the sailing of the fleet that course: and suppose it probable the accounts arriv'd last night at Newport, as they reach'd New Haven before day light on Sunday morning. I have advis'd Major Tallmadge to remove to Greenfield, as he will there be better situated to aford his aid, either east or west, than at Canaan, and he will begin his march either this afternoon or in the morning. I should be happy in receiving your consent to my continuing on this station until your further orders, and that you will honor me with such command of the continental troops as you see fit; the addition you have receiv'd to your command from the militia and N. York State troops and consequent additional numbers you have sent to the lines, will aford a command in the whole much larger than any division in camp, and the State troops, coast guards, and detachment under Major Tallmage much greater than my own division in camp, if you don't think proper to unite the whole under one command.

I shall tomorrow remove eastward as far as New Haven. The dragoon who brings this will find me with your letters, if you are pleas'd to write me.

I am, with esteem and respect, y^r obed^t h^l serv^t.

SAM^l H. PARSONS.

P. S. Major Laurence has been absent ten days to Poughkeepsie and camp; as I have expected his return

for five days, I fear some misfortune has befallen him. I wish to hear whether he has been at camp and when he left it.

WILLIAM HEATH TO SAMUEL H. PARSONS.

HEAD QUARTERS, CONTINENTAL VILLAGE, Sep^t 19th, 1781.

DEAR SIR,— Your favor of the 17th is just come to hand. In a letter I had the honor to receive from his Excellency Governor Trumbull, dated at Hartford the 7th instant (and if I mistake not in your own hand writing), his Excellency is pleased to express himself as follows, “General Parsons who was returning to camp I have desired to remain in the State for the present.” My reply in a letter of the 10th was, “I wish Major General Parsons to join the army as soon as his presence at the *eastward* can be dispensed with.” I had not an idea of your being detained for the purpose of repairing to the vicinity of the army or exercising command over troops immediately under my own command. At this particular time when the enemy in New York may be supposed to be peculiarly active with design, if possible, to relieve Lord Cornwallis and when many places are threatned, it is both my wish and expectation that all officers whom I have the honor to command will be with their respective commands, that I may have it in my power to make such detachments as the good of the service, my country, and my superiors have a right to expect. Every part of the country whose protection is committed to my care, or supposed to be intitled to protection from the army, may depend upon receiving aid as far as circumstances will permit, and for which conformable to my instructions I hold myself accountable.

From several circumstances I am led to conclude the fleet that passed up the Sound on Saturday are not designed against the towns in the vicinity of Stamford.

I have heard nothing of Major Lawrence; hope no accident has befallen him.

I am with great regard, dear Sir, your obed^t serv^t.

W. HEATH, *M. General.*

Major General PARSONS.

WILLIAM HEATH TO JOHN HANCOCK.

HEAD QUARTERS, CONTINENTAL, Sep^r 19th, 1781.

SIR, — In the postscript of mine of the 17th I mentioned that a fleet of about 40 sail passed up the Sound on the 15th. I have not heard from them since, but am in expectation of further intelligence very soon. It was thought by some that it was a wood fleet only; it may be so. I learn through another channel since that a number of transports fell down to the Hook the same day, said to have troops on board, — not a hint has transpired of any certainty of their destination. The enemy are undoubtedly embarrassed in the extreme on account of Lord Cornwallis's situation, and have reason to be so. They wish to do something to extricate themselves if possible, and to keep up the spirits of the troops, &c. I have long felt a concern for the eastern parts of your Commonwealth, it gives me pain when I reflect on the enemy having foot hold on Ponobscot River. I think they will struggle hard to have that valuable country confirmed to them, and if when a peace takes place the conditions should be that each of the powers at war shall retain what they have taken, it will be a most humiliating consideration to Massachusetts. It is altogether conjecture, yet I have a jealousy in my own mind that some of the vessels which have lately sail'd are destined to Ponobscot.

His Excellency the Commander in Chief has directed me to send on after him one hundred head of beef cattle weekly. This will require your superintendants to be

very punctual in forwarding the number required from your Commonwealth. I pray there may not be the least deficiency. I have no late news from the southward; our expectations are high and sanguine.

Please present my respectfull compliments to your amiable lady.

I have the honor to be, with the highest respect,

Your Excellency's most obed^t serv^t.

W. HEATH.

Governor HANCOCK.

WILLIAM HEATH TO JOHN HANCOCK.

HEAD QUARTERS, CONTINENTAL VILLAGE, Sep^r 22nd, 1781.

SIR,—I have been honored with yours of the 12th instant; wish the favorable opinion your Excellency is pleased to express of the execution of the command committed to me may equal your expectations. I pray you accept my hearty thanks for your kind wishes.

The militia from your Commonwealth have come on with more punctuality, and are nearer complete than from any other State (New York excepted). All the Eastern States have great credit in forwarding their supplies of beef cattle. With respect to rum there is a general deficiency; the troops on fatigue do not receive rum one tenth part of the time. The old soldiers are as usual remarkably healthy; the recruits and militia have some sick, the number might probably be less could they at this season receive a proper allowance of spirit. With respect to clothing I do not know what the intentions of Congress are. I am informed that large quantities of cloaths were brought from France by Col^o Laurens for the United States; whether this will be sufficient for the whole army or not I cannot say, or in what way it will be appropriated is not within the sphere of my knowledge. Perhaps Congress have communicated their intentions to the States.

I shall be happy if the supply proves so ample as to ease the States of making provision themselves, but in some way the clothing should be seasonably prepared.

The season for putting up salted provisions, especially beef, is approaching. It seems to me if the cattle were to be driven on much farther this way than has generally been practiced and slaughtered, it would save a great expence in transportation. The salt necessary to preserve the meat will not be greater in one place than in another, and the expence and weight no greater separate than with the meat, and at least two thirds the expence of the transportation of the meat will be saved, but this the wisdom of your Hon^{ble} Legislature will determine.

We have a confirmation of the enemy taking the cannon from the Grand Battery in New York, and that a very considerable part of their force has embarked and fallen down, but have not yet an account of their going to sea. Every account confirms the loss of the enemy to have been great at New London, and Arnold's conduct in burning, &c, almost universally detested by the British officers. Great sickness and mortality have seized Delancy's corps. No certain news from the southward.

I have the honor to be, with the highest respect and esteem,

Your Excellency's most obedient serv^t.

W. HEATH.

His Excellency Governor HANCOCK.

SECRET INTELLIGENCE FROM NEW YORK.*

DEAR SIR, — I waited three days in N. Y. expecting some *agreeable* news from the southward; there were many arrivals in that time, but nothing of consequence

* This letter and the one immediately following were enclosed in a letter from Major Tallmadge to General Heath, dated Greenfield, Sept. 23, 6 o'clock, P. M. — Eds.

transpired. No hand bills were printed. I concluded that nothing pleasing had hapned. They say they cannot expect good news from that quarter. A whale boat arrived from there yesterday morning; when she came away the French fleet were at their old quarters in the Chessipeak. Not known where the British fleet were.

You will see an account of an action in the paper between the fleets, the truth in that account is suppressed. The Brittish had four ships very much shattered, and lost five officers in the engagement, their rank I don't know, only that one of them was a captain; he had both his thighs shot off.

It was reported that their had been an action between Cornwallis and the Marquis, in which the latter suffered much; but as it was suffered to die away without being blasoned by a hand bill no credit was given to it. The *Prudent* sailed some days ago, in very bad order, to join Graves. The *Robust*, of 74 guns, tho she can scarcely keep above water, fell down yesterday opposite the town, and will attempt to join Graves as soon as they can find out where he is. Adm^l Digbee is hourly expected; they say with eight sail of the line. *He has only three under his comm^d.* The troops that embarked about a fortnight past continue on board; they lye at the watering place. Gen^l Clinton's baggage is on board; they will sail whenever the Chessipeak is open, and not till then. There are six thousand troops on board at least. There are only invalids in Brookline fort; their n^o I cannot ascertain.

It has been twice reported in N. Y. that Cornwallis's army were Burgoined; it died away soon, being but little credited.

Arnold is generally blamed for his conduct at N. London. His loss has been great. The 54th reg^t lost killed and wounded 96 men; the 40th about the same number. 10 commissioned officers were killed; Major Montgomery was amongst the slain. 160 were brought in wounded, the

most of them mortally. They rate their whole loss at near 400, some say five hundred, *a Bunker Hill expedition they say.*

The British say if Arnold has the command they will be able to make but few more expeditions.

It is conjectured if matters go against them at the southward that a diversion may be made up the North River. They are taking all the cannon out of the Grand Battery at N. Y. and are carting them up to the provoo. They are likewise taking the cannon out of Fort Washington. The 17th reg^t of horse ly at Flushing; Hulet at Jamaica; the 54th and 40th in N. Y. and some Hessians. The militia in N. Y. are exercised twice and three times a week. No one will dare command them if an attack is made; the last time they were out many balls were fired as they went thro the firings.

There are warrants issued to the officers at Huntington, to supply the reffugees at the Neck with forriage, and to levy a rate on the town to defray the expences. There are not to exceed 350 men at Loyd's Neck. About 50 at Slongoe, and ten officers. I wish you would pay the latter a visit. If I had ten men I would take every officer they have tomorrow evening.

The Commodore's flagg at N. Y. is on board a transport. You will excuse this scraul; I write in a hurry, and have not time to revise or correct. God bless you all.

I am your humble serv^t. S. G.

18 Sept^r, 1781.

N. B. You will find the word *say* in this letter on fatigue from beginning to the end of it; it is too late to help it.

SECRET INTELLIGENCE FROM NEW YORK.

DEAR SIR, — I have the pleasure to congratulate you on a victory gained over the British fleet by the Count De Grass. The B. fleet arrived at the Hook two days ago.

Several of their ships are much damaged, and many lives lost in the engagement. Cornwallis is given over for lost by the most stanch friends to government, and I believe by this time is a prisoner with his whole army.

If the French fleet should arrive here you must look out sharp or they will take all the stock from the county of Suffolk.

They have not began to forrage here yet, I expect that they will soon begin, if they should they will [*torn*] strong.

It is the most sickly time amongst the army that was ever known; the yellow fever rages amasingly. I have nothing more to write at present. You shall have further particulars at the appointed time for the boats to come.

I am your humble serv^t.

S. G.

Sept^r 22, 1781.

ALEXANDER McDOUGALL TO WILLIAM HEATH.

WEST POINT, 26th Sep^r, 1781.

SIR, — I was honored with your favors of the 22^d and 23^d instant. Your orders respecting wood for the general officers and staff of the garrison will be attended to. It had not escaped my notice that stores of various kinds have been ordered from this garrison unknown to me. I presume this practice will not be judged military or reasonable when the consequences are considered.

The releif of Verplank's and Stony Points by detachments from the army, for the winter, will not in my opinion promote the service as well as if it was by distinct corps, for officers of detachments cannot be supposed to take the same care of men which their own would do. This is the result of the litle service I have seen, and accords with the ideas you were pleased to hint to me, when last at the Point, of doeing duty by regiments. The

preparation for taking in the chain will require some time, especially with our small means.

By the time that is done it may from present appearances be drawn in. For no danger can arise to the post if it were now secured. If it's delayed too long, what may now be easily done will then become (in our weak state) a very fatiguing and arduous task. If this representation should meet your approbation, I beg Col. Tupper may be sent over to make the necessary arrangements. He may inform Col. Hughes what cordage is necessary. The artificers are arrived, and disposed of as you directed.

General Patterson brought me very flattering intelligence. But I shall be satisfied if it's but partially true. Accept my thanks for your attention in dropping me the news of the day.

I am, Sir, your humble serv^t.

ALEX^R McDOUGALL.

Major General HEATH.

WILLIAM HEATH TO ALEXANDER McDOUGALL.

HEAD QUARTERS, CONTINENTAL VILLAGE, Sept 26, 1781.

DEAR SIR, — Your favor of this date is just come to hand.

I am at some loss to determine to what various stores you allude that have been removed from the garrison of West Point unknown to you, in a way unmilitary. Certainly no such practices ought to be allowed. I have several times of late ordered amunition and stores from the grand magazines at West Point to such places as I thought required them; if to these you allude, it is necessary to observe that a distinction is to be made between stores assigned for the use of particular posts and those lodged in the grand magazines for the use of the whole army and all other posts in the department. In the former case it

■

would be both unmilitary and verry improper to remove ammunition or provisions designed for the particular use of the garrison without consulting the commandant to know whether they can be spared without injury to or endangering the safety of the garrison and post ; but this by no means applys to the grand magazines. The principal of each department present ; of the artillery, quarter master general, adjutant general, commissary general of provisions and of military stores ; director of the hospital, clothier general, forage master, &c., are under the immediate orders of the commander in chief present, only as are all the great magazines or reserves under their charge ; and the commander in chief directs the augmentation, removal, or distribution of them to such places and posts as he may judge the service requires, he being equally accountable for the whole, as the officer is for the particular post assigned him, and as the commander in chief has weekly returns from every department, and every post under his command (or ought to have), he is the only judge what distributions are necessary, the commandant of a post or garrison, brigade or division in the field has the same power and controul over the assistants of the several departments which are assigned to his command, and the stores under their charge, conformable to the standing regulations, but cannot interfere with the grand magazines. West Point has long been our principal repository of ammunition and provisions. I have some time since directed the officers of the several departments to make it more so by depositing every thing there not wanted for immediate use, and to draw from thence as occasion may require, that is, from the *magazines*, not the issuing store, observing in all distributions of provisions, liquors, &c, an equal proportion to the garrison as to other troops in the field and at other posts and no more, which shows that I consider all grand magazines in the several departments subject to my own orders only, while honored with the

chief command of the department. These, my dear Sir, are precisely the ideas that I have imbibed of military propriety and military command. I will thank you for pointing out to me wherein you think I am mistaken.

I think it is yet much too soon to take up the chain. It was not taken up the last year, if I do not mistake, untill some time in November. Many were then of opinion it was then too soon. I thought it was not, but think it so now. When it is done Col^o Tupper shall be desired to assist, and any other aid that may be necessary from the army shall be sent you.

I am much in favor of doing duty by corps rather than by detachments; but in the case of the garrisons of Verplank's and Stony Points the present state of the companies forbid it, so many detachments have been made that it would require two or three of our present companies to form a garrison. If the officers of all those companies were to be placed in the garrison, it would be beside the plan adopted for those garrisons. If a part of the officers were seperated entirely from their own companies the evil at present complained of would not be removed. If any thing a greater inconvenience would take place. These I fully considered before I gave the order, and necessity compelled to the measure.

I am, with very great regard, dear Sir,

Your obed^t serv^t.

W. HEATH, *M. General.*

Maj^r General McDougall.

WILLIAM HEATH TO SILVANUS SEELY.

HEAD QUARTERS, CONTINENTAL VILLAGE, Sep^t 26th, 1781.

MY DEAR SIR, — Your favor of the 19th did not reach me until this moment. I thank you most heartily for the intelligence communicated therein, and request you to

favor me from time to time with such as comes to your knowledge; your situation gives you the best advantage for the purpose, which occasioned my writing to you yesterday which you will probably receive before this reaches you. I doubt not the present disposition of your regiment is the best calculated for checking the incursions of any partizan parties of the enemy, preventing illicit trade, afford protection to the inhabitants and gain intelligence. If his Excellency Governor Livingston should at any time wish to have any alteration made in your disposition, please, upon his signifying it, to act conformably. Should the enemy make any movements please give me instant notice of it, that if necessary aid may be sent to you from the army. If you find it necessary to send a person into New York or on to Staten Island at any time to obtain intelligence in whom you can confide, you have my full permission; let it be done with proper precaution, and pointedly prevent its being made a channel of the least traffick.

Please let me hear from you when ever any thing transpires worthy of notice, either on the land or water.

I am, with very great regard, my dear Sir,

Your obedient servant.

W. HEATH, *M. Gen.*

P. S. The frequent interceptions of the public mails in time past have induced Congress to order an escorte to be furnished to the mail between Morristown and Fishkill, which I have done by appointing four trusty dragoons to that duty, but the enemies' emmissaries may be increased; if they should I wish you to hunt them out if possible, and to send a light patrolle about the time the post passes to such places as are near you and most likely to be a lurking place for the enemy. I intend the sending a patrolle from the army as far as Suffran's.

Colo. SEELY.

W. H.

BENJAMIN TALLMADGE TO WILLIAM HEATH.

SOCKATOCK BRIDGE, Sept^r 26th, 1781.

DEAR GEN^l,—Very recent intelligence from Long Island induced me yesterday to make preparations for an attack on Fort Slongo. Accordingly the boats were collected and the troops prepared for the expedition, but were prevented crossing by the failure of a few boats and a high wind. I shall by all means improve the ensuing night for the same purpose, and in the mean time shall move the troops to Green's Farms this morning, about 3 miles east of this, to prevent suspicion.

Inclosed you will receive a N. York paper of the 22^d. My latest accounts from that q^r were on the 23^d. The fleet were then at the Hook, taking every measure to refit, being very much damaged. My informant supposes they have lost three sail of the line, and have been beat off from the southern q^r. Cornwallis is given over for lost, and Sir Harry appears to be much in the *horrors* that he cannot relieve him. The troops on board ship still remain within the Hook, undoubtedly bound southward if circumstances will by any means warrant the measure. What can the enemy mean by removing the cannon from the Battery and Fort Washington? Surely they can't think of leaving New York. May they not be inte[n]ded to put on board some heavy transports to station as guard ships? I hope to know more particularly in a few days.

The 3^d battalion of Delancey's brigade have rec^d orders to escort the foragers down into Suffolk county. The van of the waggons a few days ago arrived at Flushing, where they are halted for the present. The moment they move I shall know their numbers, route, &c. The garrison at Brooklyn fort is almost wholly taken out, as well as that of Fort Washington and some works near

Haerlem. I have sent an agent to make the necessary enquiry on the heads you mention.

A fleet of 12 square rigged vessels and about as many of smaller size yesterday were off Norwalk, most probably a wood or forage fleet. If it can by any means be consistent with your pleasure to continue this detachment in this q^r for a little time, I am determined if the 3^d battalion comes into Suffolk county to strike them if possible capitally. They have 300 waggons prepared for this service. Since we have been in this q^r, there has not a single boat landed from the other side, between Norwalk and Stratford, on the plundering business, which heretofore was very frequently practiced.

If the Gen^l should find it necessary to recall the dragoons which are with me, I should be glad to be indulged with a few, as they will be particularly serviceable in all expeditions across the Sound. Against works I always improve a few with their broad swords, and if the foragers come down they will be peculiarly serviceable.

I am, dear General, with every sentiment of esteem,

Your most obed^t serv^t.

BENJ^A TALLMADGE.

Gen^l HEATH.

WILLIAM HEATH TO WILLIAM LIVINGSTON.

HEAD QUARTERS, CONTINENTAL VILLAGE, Sep^t 28th, 1781.

SIR, — Having received information from Col^o Seely that the enemy have disembarked a large body of troops at Staten Island, are impressing waggons, and making preparations which indicate an incursion into the Jerseys for the purpose of foraging or with other designs, I have ordered a detachment of regular troops, with a field piece to cross King's Ferry and advance as far as Ramapough where they will halt and remain untill further orders,

unless the enemy should cross over from the island, in which case the troops will advance rapidly to the aid of the militia; should the enemy make an incursion in force a further reinforcement with a general officer will be detached. In the mean time please direct Colonel Seely to make such movements and take such positions as may be thought most eligible.

I have the honor to be, with great respect,

Your Excellency's most obed^t serv^t.

W. HEATH.

His Excellency Gov^r LIVINGSTON.

JOSIAH BARTLETT* TO WILLIAM HEATH.

STATE OF NEW }
HAMPSHIRE. } IN COMMITTEE OF SAFETY, EXETER,
Sept^r 29th 1781.

SIR,—Your letter of the 17th instant directed to the President of this State was received the 25th instant. The President being absent, the Committee have taken the same under consideration.

The accounts we have lately received from the western parts of this State serve to confirm us in the sentiments held forth in your letter, that the enemy will probably attempt to make inroads on the settlements at Connecticut River. Some part of our militia had marched previous to the receipt of your letter and had orders to

* Josiah Bartlett was born in Amesbury, Mass., Nov. 21, 1729, and studied medicine. On completing his medical education he removed to Kingston, N. H., which continued to be his home until his death, May 19, 1795. He early took an interest in public affairs, and was elected a member of the legislature in 1765, serving down to the Revolution. In 1775 he was chosen to the Continental Congress, where he was a zealous advocate for independence, and one of the signers of the Declaration. In 1779 he was made Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas of New Hampshire; in 1782 a Justice of the Superior Court; and in 1790 Chief Justice. He was for three years President of the State, and afterward the first Governor chosen under the State Constitution. He was also one of the founders of the New Hampshire Medical Society, of which he was the first President. See Appleton's *Cyclopædia of American Biography*, vol. i. p. 185; *New Hampshire State Papers*, vol. xxii. pp. 824-829. — Eds.

rendezvous at Springfield; but the great difficulties subsisting in the western part of this State on account of the dispute of Vermont, in addition to the probability of the enemy's movements that way, induced the Committee to order that those men who had set out for Springfield should be immediately marched to Charlestown, and that those who had not marched should be sent thither by the nearest rout. We are doubtful whether the continental stores there are sufficient for the men, and have given orders for the supplying them from the provisions which we were to raise by order of Congress the present year. We have given orders to the commandant of the regiment to report to you his name, rank, and the number of militia with him agreeably to your letter. The greater part of the towns in two counties of this State east of Connecticut River deny the jurisdiction of the State and have joined the State of Vermont (so called) and notwithstanding the late resolutions of Congress still persist in joining Vermont. The difficulties are so many and great in those parts that the Committee are of opinion it is absolutely necessary the men should remain in that quarter. If they should be ordered to the southward the march will be long and the term of their enlistment being short will expire before they can do much service. If you should be of opinion that they may remain there and no continental officer should be in that quarter to give them orders, Bridier Gen^l Bellows (of this State's militia, who lives in Walpole) will be near, and will give the necessary orders in case of alarms, &c.

I am, with due respect, your most obedient serv^t.

JOSIAH BARTLETT, *Chairmⁿ*.

Major General WILLIAM HEATH.

WILLIAM HEATH TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.

HEAD QUARTERS, CONTINENTAL VILLAGE, Sep^r 30th, 1781.
9 o'clock, A. M.

DEAR GENERAL, — I have this moment received a New York paper of the 26th instant which announces the arrival of Admiral Digby. M^r Rivington does not mention the number of ships which have arrived, but through the same channel that I obtained the paper I learn he arrived with three sail of the line and no others; that they have sent to Hallifax for two sail more of the line. I have requested the President of Congress to forward the news paper with this letter to your Excellency. The troops that were embarked at New York disembarked, as I mentioned in a former letter, at Staten Island, where they have been impressing waggons, &c. I have sent a detachment to Ramapough, where they not only cover that pass into the mountains, but are at hand to aid the Jersey militia if necessary. The Command^r of S^t Johns lately sent a party to gain intelligence from Saratoga, a Cap^t Dunham and two militia men fell in with five of the party whom they conducted safe to Saratoga with an address that did them much honor.

I have the honor to be, with the highest respect,

Your Excellency's most obed^t ser^t.

W. HEATH.

His Excellency Gen^l WASHINGTON.

WILLIAM HEATH TO JOHN HANCOCK.

HEAD QUARTERS, CONTINENTAL VILLAGE, Oct^r 1st, 1781.

SIR, — I was honored with yours of the 24th ult^o the night before last. I much regret your being again attacked with the excruciating pain of the gout; hope ere this time you are abroad again.

Admiral Digby arrived at New York the 25th ult^o with three sail of the line and one frigate and no more. Prince William Henry, third son to the King of England, came in the fleet. They have sent to Hallifax for two sail more of the line. The whole naval force of the enemy now fit for service at New York is twenty sail of the line, besides frigates; that of the Count de Grass thirty seven sail of the line. A very great superiority is yet on the side of our allies notwithstanding the arrival of Admiral Digby, which for some time has been the only hope of the enemy. The principal force of the enemy is now on Staten Island, where it is conjectured they are planing some expedition for the relief of Lord Cornwallis. Commodore Johnston, instead of going to the Cape of Good Hope as was expected, the enemy say has gone to the River Plata on the coast of Brazil and has taken possession of Buenos Ayres. A most mortal sickness rages among the enemy and inhabitants in the vicinity of New York. It is said five or six have died out of a family.

With every sentiment of respect & esteem, I have the honor to be,

Your Excellency's most obedient servant.

W. HEATH.

The command^r of St. Johns lately sent a party towards Saratoga to seize a person or two for the purpose of obtaining intelligence with very particular injunctions to exhibit an address of vigilance and fortitude. On the 25th a Cap^t Dunham of the militia and two men only took five of the party, and conducted them safe to the camp at Saratoga, in a manner that does Cap^t Dunham and the two men much honor.

W. H.

Please give the enclosed addressed to Col^o Francis of Philadelphia, who is executing a commission for the Hon^{ble} Mr Morris.

His Excellency Governor HANCOCK.

WILLIAM HEATH TO BENJAMIN TALLMADGE.

Private.

HEAD QUARTERS, CONTINENTAL VILLAGE, Oct^r 5th, 1781.

MY DEAR SIR, — I pray you accept my warmest thanks for your unremitting endeavours to render service to your country. The judgment and secresy with which you planned the enterprise against Fort Slongo do you honor. Enterprises of this kind, especially at this time, will be productive of the best consequences to the public service. I wish you therefore to keep your fruitfull genius employed in exploring and planing the enemy's weak sides, and strike them where it can be done without too much risk. Many of the enemy's posts are at this time weak. What think you of the works on the north end of York Island; this would be an enterprise of first magnitude in the eyes of the world. Can it be effected, with what force think you? Endeavour to ascertain their strength out side and in, their guards and garrisons. You some time since requested a few dragoons, you shall have them, let the number be as *few* as will answer your purposes. I have written to Col^o Sheldon to assign them to you. Inform him how many you wish to have.

I am, with very great regard, my dear Sir,

Yours sincerely.

W. HEATH, *M. Genl.*

Major TALLMADGE.

WILLIAM HEATH TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.

HEAD QUARTERS, CONTINENTAL VILLAGE, Oct. 5th, 1781.

DEAR GENERAL, — I have been honored with yours of the 23rd and 24th ult^o, and beg leave to congratulate your Excellency on the prospect of success, (which with the blessing of Heaven) seems almost assured to you, and promises America the most interesting and happy advantages.

I have the copy of instructions from the Gen^l Assembly of the State of Georgia, the resolution of Congress, and your Excellency's instructions respecting Major General Howe's conduct while in command in the State of Georgia, but not a single evidence do I know of, or who is to support the charges. I therefore request to be informed, whether it be your Excellency's pleasure that I immediately appoint a court of enquiry, whether there are any papers lodged with your Excellency which will tend further to illucidate the matter, and on whom I am to call to support the charges.

I have the pleasure to congratulate your Excellency on the success of the American arms in this quarter in the reduction of Fort Slongo on Long Island on the morning of the 3rd instant. The enterprise was planed by Major Tallmadge, and executed by Major Trescott with an address and gallantry that does them much honor, and what heightens the pleasure is the success was obtained without the loss of a man on our side and but one wounded. It is said a number of small arms were taken. Major Vanalstin, the commandant, was gone to New York to solicit a 12 p^{dr} for the fort.

In a former letter I requested a copy of your order respecting Cap^t Livermore of the New Hampshire Line, it has been reported that he is restored to his command, but I have received nothing respecting it that will warrant my publishing it in orders and Cap^t Livermore is held in a disagreeable suspense.

I am carefully forwarding on for the use of the army under your Excellency's immediate command one hundred head of beef cattle weekly, and shall continue to do so untill ordered otherwise.

I have the honor to be, with the highest respect,

Your Excellency's most obedient serv^t.

W. HEATH.

His Excellency General WASHINGTON.

WILLIAM LIVINGSTON TO WILLIAM HEATH.

TRENTON, 11 October, 1781.

SIR, — I should much sooner have done myself the honour of acknowledging the receipt of your favour of the 28th ultimo, but the multiplicity of business at the sitting of our Assembly, and other unavoidable avocations, will, I hope, apologize for the delay.

I have, Sir, to express my grateful sense of your attention to this State in ordering a detachment of the troops under your command with a field piece to advance as far as Ramapough, which I think is the best post they can take, until the enemy render it necessary for them to move farther down. But I am apt to think that the poor devils on Staten Island are so perplexed with the present posture of affairs, that they know not themselves what they would be about; and from the pains lately taken in Britain to trumpet the martial fame of Cornwallis, and Clinton's jealousy of having his own reputation eclipsed by the rising glory of that rival, I verily believe the latter would not regret his Lordship's falling a victim to his present beseigers. At all events I could never persuade myself that he would be so mad as to risque a march of his army through this State to Philadelphia, because tho' he might by a rapid push gain that city before we could collect in sufficient force to check him, I should think it impossible for him to effect his return against the numbers that would by that time be assembled to dispute his progress; and to attempt it by water would be just making a present of his troops to the fleet of our ally.

The construction therefore which I put on their manœuvres on the island, is that they think it most expedient to be prepared on the shortest notice after

hearing the fate of Cornwallis to take their measures accordingly; and the frequent change of their local situation is easily accounted for from their having the yellow fever. It is however very probable both from their present necessitous circumstances as to forage, and their reasonable apprehensions of a seige after we have done his Lordship's business, that they may make an incursion into this State, in which case I doubt not, they will according to custom shew fleeter heels in their retreat than their advance.

Coll^o Seely, I believe, is as properly posted as possible; and by his patrols and out-posts makes his corps as useful for the defence of the State as the number of his men will admit of.

I am, with great esteem, Sir, your most humble serv.

WIL: LIVINGSTON.

The Hon^{ble} Major General HEATH.

WILLIAM HEATH TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.

HEAD QUARTERS, CONTINENTAL VILLAGE, Oct^r 11th, 1781.

DEAR GENERAL, — All accounts from New York agree that the enemy are at work day and *night* in refitting their men of war, and preparing fire ships, ten or twelve of which, it is said, will be completed by the 14th. I hope the account which I sent of this the 7th, which was the first knowledge I obtained of it, reached your Excellency. The fire ships are taken from the transports and Goodrich's fleet; they are filled with combustibles, &c, below deck, have guns mounted on their decks, and new painted and to appearance are the most beautiful ships in the fleet. It is said 3,000 regular troops are to embarke on board the fleet as marines, that the fleet when ready will consist of 23 sail of the line and 14

frigates ; with these and the fire ships, without any transports, they intend to make a furious attack on the French fleet.

By accounts from General Stark as late as the 8th instant every thing indicates an attack on the northern frontiers. It is said the enemy's force will consist of two British reg^t, one of Yagers, and the collected body of Tories, &c, under the command of General Riedesel. I have ordered the 2nd New Hampshire reg^t to that quarter. Colonel Wiessenfels, a very good reg^t of New York levies, I sent up some time since, with the New Hampshire reg^t of militia. These with the other force with General Stark, and the militia of Vermont who have promised their aid if necessary, and the other neighbouring militia will I trust be a force sufficient to repulse any that may be brought against them.

We are impatiently waiting the signal of intelligence to shout your victory over Lord Cornwallis.

I have the honor to be, with the highest respect,

Your Excellency's most obed^t serv^t.

W. HEATH.

P. S. I am exceedingly sorry to find by Gen^l Stark's letter, that he has tried at a court martial and executed *Loveless*, who came with very particular written instructions to sieze a prisoner from the neighborhood of Saratoga, in which attempt he and his party were taken, which has been some time since mentioned. His having written instructions, the tenor of them, and the party being armed, I think clearly barred the idea of his being a spy, and upon what principle he was executed, I am at loss to determine ; am apprehensive it will make us some difficulty. It may be best to say as little about it as possible at present.

His Excellency General WASHINGTON.

THOMAS McKEAN TO WILLIAM HEATH.

(Private.)

SIR, — The intelligence you have from time to time communicated to Congress has been very satisfactory, and always corroborated what I had derived thro' other channels.

I am now to inform you of some facts of the utmost importance: however you may be at a loss to account for numbers or circumstances, believe me, they are founded on the best evidence, and perfectly true in all respects.

Sir Henry Clinton is ready to sail in person with *upwards* of *five thousand* chosen troops, rank and file, on board the British fleet, now consisting of *twenty nine* line of battle ships, besides frigates and ten fire-ships. The general and flag officers held a council of war on the 24th September last at New-York, and determined at all hazards to proceed to the Chesapeak and endeavor to relieve Lord Cornwallis, and, tho' then they had but 26 ships of the line, to fight the French fleet and land their troops; they expected to be ready to sail on the fifth instant, but had not sailed (I believe) on Thursday the 11th.

As soon as you have heard of the fleet's sailing you may depend upon it there are near six thousand of the best troops on board, and in consequence there cannot be above four thousand of all sorts remaining in New-York and its environs. These must be scattered on Long-Island, Staaten Island, near Kings-bridge, and Paulus Hook.

In this situation of affairs would it not be advisable to think seriously of an attack on New-York? You may obtain five thousand militia in a few days to co-operate with you. I rest assured you will be in readiness to

execute any orders you may receive from the Commander in Chief on this head. General Washington and Count de Grasse will in a very few days be informed of all these particulars, as I have dispatched expresses to each by the nearest routs.

I have the honor to be, with very great regard, Sir,
Your most obedt hbble. servt.

THO. M: KEAN.

PHILADELPHIA, October 15th, 1781.

The Honorable Major General HEATH.

WILLIAM HEATH TO THOMAS McKEAN.

HEAD QUARTERS, CONTINENTAL VILLAGE, Oct^r 16th, 1781.

SIR,—I have just received intelligence from New York of the 13th inst., which I think may be depended on, as follows. As to the fleet now fit for service in New York you may depend on their being 23 sail of the line and the Prince William and Torbay from Jamaica, the one a 64, the other a 74, three or four fire ships prepared and no prospect of any more being fitted very soon. 35 sail of the Cork fleet have arrived, convoyed by a frigate of 32 guns. A fleet of transports from England, 11 weeks out, are hourly expected at the Hook. Eleven or twelve sail of the line fell down to Staten Island yesterday when the troops began immediately to embark on board from the island. It is expected that Gen^l Clinton and three or four thousand men will go with the fleet, but the matter is yet doubtfull whether they sail or not. It depends wholly on their intelligence from the southward. A packet has arrived from England; nothing transpires. On the 11th inst^s dispatches arrived from Earl Cornwallis, in a passage of three days. It was said brought an account that General Washington

was bombarding him night and day. It is said Cornwallis has no bread, and not more meat than to last him this month; since he has been blockaded has received fresh provisions but once.

The person who forwarded me the foregoing intelligence adds, "I have another account in addition to what I have enclosed which assures me that every ship which was able to swim have gone down to the Hook. Sir Henry will undoubtedly endeavour some desperate aid for his Lordship."

My last accounts from the northward were of the 12th inst. The enemy were then said to be advanced on this side Lake George, but their force not fully known. I have sent a further reinforcement of regular troops to support Gen^l Stark, and hope soon to hear a good account of them.

I have the honor to be, with the highest respect,
Your Excellency's most obed^t serv^t.

W. HEATH.

HON. THOMAS M. KEAN, Esquire, President.

WILLIAM HEATH TO THOMAS McKEAN.

[Private.]

HEAD QUARTERS, CONTINENTAL VILLAGE, October 17, 1781.

SIR, — The last evening I had the honor of receiving yours of the 15th.

I have for some time been endeavouring to possess myself minutely of the state of the enemy's works and troops, determined to strike them in any part where I could do it with a tolerable prospect of success and without too much risk. How far anything capital can be effected I am at a loss to determine. Although their garrisons are become weak, yet their works are generally good. They must be taken either by assault or regular ap-

proaches. The former probably cannot be effected, except in one or two instances; as soon as the alarm is given their troops will repair to the works, not being in force to act in the field. After this, to attempt the works by storm I apprehend is scarcely supposeable, at any rate must be attended with great loss. To reduce them by regular approaches is a work of time. The principal difficulty is that of being obliged to cross the water, where a single small, armed vessel can destroy the boats and cut off the communication, unless we have shipping to prevent it. There would be a remedy if we could open a communication by Kingsbridge and Fort Washington; but these are the best fortified of any parts of the island.

My operating force at this instant is divided. One brigade of regular troops is gone to the northward on the late alarm in that quarter. A detachment of picked cavalry and infantry are gone to escort the money on its way from Boston. The best old soldiers and flower of this army have been picked out for the light infantry and other select corps which are gone to the southward. However, I am making every preparation to strike any blow that may appear eligible, or to endeavour the execution of any orders I may receive. The regular troops gone to the northward, except one regiment, have orders to return the moment the enemy are repulsed or retire. At present we are threatned with the want of bread. Yesterday the troops received but $\frac{3}{4}$ of a pound of flour. This day they cannot receive more. To-morrow unless some should arrive must go without. I have been importuning relief from every quarter where I expected it. A supply is not obtained.

My latest intelligence from New York was the 14th. The last of the shipping fell down to the watering place that morning, and it was expected they would sail in a few days. It is said their force is twenty-four sail of the line,

two fifties, and a number of frigates. Probably your Excellency may have better intelligence.

I have the honor to be, with the highest respect,
Your Excellency's most obedient servant.

W. HEATH.

P. S., 18th. The last evening I received a letter from General Schuyler of the 15th. He informs me that the enemy had not been on this side of Fort George, as was reported to General Stark, that they continue on Lake Champaign, and that since the militia have turned out with so much spirit, and have a regular force at hand, the enemy probably will not venture a penetration. Enclosed is copy of a letter intercepted from Fort George going to the enemy.

His Excellency THOMAS M. KEAN, Esquire, President of Congress.

WILLIAM HEATH TO JONATHAN TRUMBULL.

HEAD QUARTERS, CONTINENTAL VILLAGE, Oct^r 22nd, 1781.

SIR, — I was this evening honored with yours of the 18th. I pray your Excellency will be pleased to accept my thanks for the early and effectual measures you were pleased to adopt for holding a part of your militia in readiness to march this way in case any movements of Sir Henry Clinton should make it necessary. The spirit with which the militia turned out at the northward and the early arrival of a brigade of regular troops sent from this army to that quarter have, I believe, effectually discouraged the enemy from coming forward. By the last accounts they had not advanced further. My request of the 17th for a certain number of your militia was for a secret purpose. It is uncertain whether they will be wanted. If they should, some of those nearest this way mentiond in your letter may answer the purpose.

On the evening of the 19th the British fleet sailed from Sandy Hook; 25 sail of the line, three ships of 50, three of 40 guns, and several frigates, with General Clinton and, it is said, 6,000 troops on board. There are no transports gone with the fleet, but a number of fireships. Every ship is provided with a number of carcasses fixed with barbed irons. They are to be fired from their cannon, if possible to sit fire to the rigging of the French ships. Their designs being early penetrated, General Washington and the Count de Grass have had notice sent them, and I believe will receive it in season. Your Excellency will probably have heard that Colonel Scammel, formerly Adj^t Gen^l of our army was wounded and taken prisoner near York Town about the 30th ult^o. He is since dead of his wounds.

I enclose your Excellency a Philadelphia paper containing General Greene's official letter to Congress. It was a well fought and glorious battle.

I have this moment received a letter from his Excellency General Washington, dated the 6th instant. His Excellency observes the trenches were to be opened that night, that nothing very material had occurred, that the enemy kept up but a very saving fire.

I have the honor to be, with the highest respect,

Your Excellency's most obed^t servant.

W. HEATH.

His Excellency Governor TRUMBULL.

BENJAMIN TALLMADGE TO WILLIAM HEATH.*

NORWALK, Oct^r 22, 1781.

MY D^r GEN^l,—I have this moment received letters from S. G., &c., which I shall transcribe for your perusal,

* General Heath appears to have kept only a copy of this letter, and to have sent the original to the President of Congress. — EDS.

it being too hazardous to trust the originals by the dragoon in the route which he must take.

Oct^r 20th, 81.

“D^a SIR, — I have received your instructions, and have to inform you that the British fleet consisting of 25 sail of the line, 1 fifty, 2 forties, & 12 frigates, accompany’d by four fire ships and some empty transports left the Hook yesterday for the relief of Lord Cornwallis. Admiral Graves commands the fleet, and Gen^l Clinton with 4,000 chosen troops are on board.”

“With respect to the position of the enemy at the north end of York Island, I have been particular in my enquiries, but no persons are permitted to go up to Kingsbridge from this place without official permission. From Fort Washington to McGowen’s Pass lie 2,000 men of different corps, but principally Hessians. They are so stationd that on fifteen or 20 minutes notice they can throw 1,500 of them into the Fort. Perhaps they are a little apprehensive of a movement from your quarter, but let me assure you they are too strong to force, and too alert for surprise. They furnish a strong pickett guard at the bridge which is relieved from the fort every day. The small redoubts from Harlem northward are all furnish’d from the fort, and the troops lie in such a position that they are handy to relieve or reinforce either, — in fine, they appear to be judiciously posted.”

“The 17th regiment of dragoons lie at Westbury. Arnold’s whole corps, consisting of about 300 men, mounted and dismounted, lie at a place called Success. Major Murray’s corps lie at Newtown. He has three full companies, and a fourth recruiting. They are all in great apprehension, but suppose that their distance from the landing is their security. A guard of boats from Hellgate thro the narrows are constantly on duty every night. No troops at present lie at Flushing. The light horse sometimes go there for the sake of pasture, but

their situation is never known till they arrive. I have before this given you an account of the troops and regiments stationed in this city and on Long Island. The same remain here still. Since you took Fort Slongo the enemy have been very busy in repairing Fort Franklin on Loyd's Neck. They are very apprehensive of visits from the continental troops stationd at the Sound."

"We have accounts of Lord Cornwallis which make it almost certain that he cannot hold out much longer, unless this fleet should speedily relieve him. Many of his best friends think him a prisoner this moment."

"There are at Loyd's Neck about 500 men, women and children in the refugee line; about 60 of them lodge in the fort every night, & not more."

"I dare not write you again very soon, a very sharp look out being kept at this time on all persons passing from the city, by reason of a man being taken up as a spy on Staten Island Wednesday last, on whom was found a number of letters, drafts, &c., &c., for General Washington. The person is a Yorker, but I have forgot his name, tho I heard it. For God's sake don't suffer anything to expose any of us here. You well know what would be our fate."

Thus much for intelligence from N. Y., which I hope may prove satisfactory.

I have enclosed a letter from Capⁿ C. Brewster, occasioned by the prospect of striking a party of refugees on Long Island with but little danger. I would just observe to you that Satuckett, where the party are, is about 30 miles east of Loyd's Neck, and lies upon the Sound. Could I by any means have dispensed with your orders for returning to camp for a day or two, I should most certainly have made the attempt this very night, — will move very speedily.

My men are many of them so barefooted that we are obliged to move slow or leave them straggling miles in

our rear, which is very unmilitary. I shall be constantly moving on till I reach Col^o Sheldon.

I am, my dear General, with esteem & regard,

Your most obed^t serv^t.

BENJ^m TALMADGE.

I have enclosed the last newspapers I have received from N. Y.

Gen. HEATH.

[Copy.]

WILLIAM HEATH TO JOHN HANCOCK.

HEAD QUARTERS, CONTINENTAL VILLAGE, Oct^r 24th, 1781.

5 o'clock, P. M.

SIR, — I have this moment received a letter from Head Quarters in Virginia dated the 12th inst^t, from which I give you the following particulars, viz^t; that on the 6th inst^t, the trenches were opened and the approaches carried within 600 yards of the enemy's works without being discovered untill day light, and without loss. The 7th and 8th were employed in erecting batteries; on the 9th two batteries, one on the right and another on the left were opened; the next morning 4 others being compleated the whole opened a heavy fire of cannon and mortars which soon became so warm as to drive the enemy from their guns; their fire was almost totally silenced, and very little return made afterwards.

The Charron, of 44 guns, with one transport took fire from our shot or shells the evening of the 10th and were both consumed; the 11th another ship was destroyed in the same manner.

On the night of the 11th the second parrelel was advanced within less than 400 yards of the enemy's lines. This approach was also effected without annoyance, and,

the morning of the 12th, our fatiguemen are securely covered while they are compleating their works. The foregoing is from the best authority.

This moment we have a report that Lord Cornwallis surrendered with his whole army on the 17th; this is said to have come to the Governor of Maryland from the Count de Grass whom the report saies had taken all his troops on board, and had gone to sea to meet Admiral Digby, who [sailed *] with twenty five sail of the line, two or three 50 and two or three of 40 guns. Twelve frigates and several fireships, with Sir Henry Clinton with four or five thousand picked troops, left Sandy Hook the afternoon of the 19th. We impatiently wait a confirmation of this momentous news, and also to hear of a decisive naval engagement.

I have the honor to be, with the highest respect,

Your Excellency's most obed^t serv^t.

W. HEATH.

Governor HANCOCK.

LORD STIRLING† TO WILLIAM HEATH.

ALBANY, October 27th, 1781.

SIR, — I wrote you the 24th that Coll. Tupper had march'd with the New Hampshire brigade to join General Stark at Saratoga. Before he reach'd that place I found it expedient to give him a variety of orders, which were founded upon the different events which took place, or rather upon the different kinds of intelligence which I receiv'd.

The 25th at 1 o'clock, P. M., accounts came to General Gansevoort that the enemy were advancing in considerable force within eight miles of Schenectady, burning

* This word is erased in the rough draft kept by General Heath, who omitted to insert anything in place of it. The meaning of the sentence is pretty clear. — Eds.

† For a full account of Lord Stirling, see his Life by his Grandson, William A. Duer, published by the New Jersey Historical Society, in 1847. — Eds.

and destroying all before them. That part of General Gansevoort's brigade which is on the east side of the river had orders from him the day before to march immediately to Albany, but as they had not arriv'd I found there was no other means of reinforcing Schenectady with that degree of rapidity the case seem'd to require, but by ordering Coll. Tupper (then on his march to Saratoga) to that place. I dispatch'd one of my aides with orders to him accordingly. At the same time I requested General Gansevoort to turn out the militia of this city, which he accordingly did, and sent off about fifty mounted on horseback. I likewise sent an express to General Ranselaer, desiring him to call out his brigade and march to this place. About 8 clock in the evening I receivd intelligence from Schenectady, that the enemy after burning Warren's Bush (a settlement 12 miles from that place) had retir'd by the way of Schorarie, which intelligence came so direct, and conceiving it useless for Coll. Tupper to persue his march at such a distance in the enemies' rear, I thought best to send him orders by express to turn to the right and march toward Saratoga. (I should have observ'd Coll. Tupper had reach'd Saratoga before my aide overtook him.) General Stark apprehensive of an attack from the northward, and confident the party near Schenectady could be but small, countermanded my first orders and directed Coll. Tupper to remain with him. His expected attack from the northward is founded upon the following intelligence which he receiv'd from General Enos commanding the Vermonteers at or near Castle Town, — "By a scout from the northward of Dead Creek near Tie, I am inform'd that several tents were standing at Old Tie. He also heard the beating of the long roll to the south of the mount (suppos'd to be at the old Scotchman's) but in the situation he was in it might be heard from the mills, and since we make no farther discoveries, it is my opinion the enemy have pro-

ceeded down Lake George." This, he observes, is all the intelligence he has rec^d since their being at Ticonderoga. Yesterday morning General Gansevoort receiv'd accounts that the enemy had attack'd Coll. Willet, had gain'd the ground of him, and had taken his field piece and oblidg'd him to retire to a small fort at Johnstown, with very little provision. In this situation I could not think it probable he would be reliev'd by the militia so soon as might be necessary. I therefore wrote to General Stark desiring him to send a reinforcement to Coll. Willett if he judg'd it could be done without too much weakening the force at Saratoga, but I conclude the same arguments will operate with him in this case as against Coll. Tupper's going to Schenectady, that upon the whole he will judge no troops can be spar'd from that post. However, by an express which arriv'd at 3 o'clock, P. M., the 26th, I am much easier on the subject. The letter which came to hand from Coll. Willett was dated the 25th ins^t, 8 o'clock, P. M., at Johnstown, and was directed to Captain Martial (commanding at this city previous to my arrival), desiring a quantity of ammunition might be immediately sent him, as he had unfortunately lost four boxes crossing the river, and does not give a particular account of the action, but by a letter which came enclos'd from Willett's doctor it appears the action was severe. He mentions 40 or 50 wounded men, that in the begining of the action Coll. Willett lost his field piece, but recovered it again, that it was hard to say who gain'd the victory, but that Willett remain'd master of the field. The express rider who brings this account says he stood sentry over twenty two British prisoners Coll. Willett had taken and sent to Fort Hunter. Taking all the accounts together I think, Willett must have had the advantage. I immediately sent on a quantity of ammunition to him and am every moment in expectation of farther intelligence. From the

bravery and abilities of the man I am induc'd to believe he will do himself honor and his country essential service. Since writing this letter an express has arriv'd from Schenectady; the intelligence is enclos'd. This moment I have rec'd a line from Governor Clinton, informing of the surrendery of Lord Cornwallis with his whole army on the 17th inst. I wait a confirmation with few doubts of its veracity.

I am, dear Sir, with much respect and esteem,

Your very humb. serv^t.

STIRLING, *M. G.*

Major Gen^l HEATH.

DAVID COBB* TO WILLIAM HEATH.

HEAD QUARTERS BEFORE YORK, Oct^r 28th, 1781.

DEAR GEN^l, — I have been honored with your favour of, I forgot the date, under a direction for Major Gibbs; in consequence of which I had the pleasure of reading two of your letters. The great events of this quarter must be perticularly known to you before this. The British surrendered more than 7,000 land forces, including officers; 2,000 suits of cloaths; 75 pieces of brass ordnance, 141 iron; about 9,000 stands of arms and 2,000 £ sterling in the military chest. Most of the officers are paroled for Europe; the soldiers marched, three days after their surrendery, for their lodgement at Winchester

* Gen. David Cobb was born in Attleborough, Mass., Sept. 14, 1748, graduated at Harvard College in 1766, and died in Boston April 17, 1830. After graduating he studied medicine, and began a successful practice in his native town. On the breaking out of the Revolution he took an active part in public affairs; and early in 1777 was made a lieutenant-colonel in the army. He remained in the service until some time after the close of the war, when he returned home, and resumed the practice of his profession. In 1784 he was made a judge of the Court of Common Pleas, which office he filled for twelve years, being also during a considerable part of the time a major-general in the Massachusetts militia. From 1789 to 1793 he was Speaker of the Massachusetts House of Representatives, and in the latter year became a member of Congress. He also held numerous other important and honorary positions. See Bugbee's *Memorials of the Mass. Society of the Cincinnati*, pp. 136-141.—EDS.

in this State. Most capital blow, and what our enemies must feel very sensibly, more especially as it has taken place in this quarter of the continent where they tho't themselves perfectly secure of conquest. Arrangements are now forming for the future distribution of the army; perhaps his Excellency with the northern troops will soon make you a visit. Gen^l Greene will be reinforced. Count Rochambeau will probably remain here, and Count de Grasse will, if the British dare face him, give them another flogging, and then obey the orders of his master.

You will be kind enough to forward the inclosed to Mess^{rs} Paine and Russell, and inform Harry Jackson that I shall not write him very soon, not because I have received no letters from him, but that I feel as lazy as he does. Give my love to your family and all our friends, and believe me ever, with respect,

Your sincere friend and obed^t servant.

DAVID COBB.

Maj^r Gen^l HEATH.

WILLIAM HEATH TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.*

HEAD QUARTERS, CONTINENTAL VILLAGE, Oct^r 30th, 1781.

DEAR GENERAL, — I have been honored with yours of the 16th and since with the glorious news of the completion of your wishes in the capture of Earl Cornwallis and his army, on which I pray your Excellency accept my most sincere and hearty congratulations.

I have been carefully watching the enemy in this quarter, determined to give them a blow wherever it appeared practicable, but altho their force has been much lessened, what has remained, the disposition of it, the state of these works, and the difficulty of getting at

* Washington's answer is printed in 5 Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. iv. pp. 229, 230.—EDS.

them, have not afforded even a tollerable prospect of success, except in some inconsiderable instances where we have, and still are aiming to strike them ; the movements of the enemy at the northward, have obliged me to detach one brigade of regular troops to that quarter ; a strong detachment of picked troops are also by order of the Board of War escorting the specie from Boston to Philadelphia. The bulk of the old soldiers and flower of this army are detached to the southward. The remainder are principally recruits, and many of them such as an officer would not wish to undertake any great enterprise with, but your Excellency may be assured no opportunity that offers shall be lost, if in our power to improve it.

I some time since sent Lord Sterling to the northward, to take the command in that quarter in case the enemy advanced in force and not otherwise, as the army would become too unwieldy for Gen^l Stark.

The last evening I received a letter from Governor Clinton, dated the 29th, in which he observes, — “ Since writing you yesterday a report is brought by a gentleman immediately from Albany that on Wednesday or Thursday last Colonel Willet had an action with the enemy at or near Johnstown. The enemy consisted of about 500, and Willet had about an equal number of levies and militia. The particulars had not arrived at Albany when the gentleman left it, but from the general tenor of the information it would appear that Willet kept the ground tho without gaining any capital advantage. He had forty killed and wounded, took some British prisoners, but the other loss of the enemy is not mentioned. If proper measures are taken at Saratoga it will be almost impossible for the enemy to return to Crown Point, and I am informed that the troops at Saratoga were in motion.”

As the force at Saratoga is very considerable, and several enterprising officers with them, I am in hourly expectation of receiving not only the particulars of

Colonel Willet's action but something much more interesting.

I have the honor to be, with the highest respect,
Your Excellency's most obed^t serv^t.

W. HEATH.

His Excellency Gen^l WASHINGTON.

JOHN MOYLAN TO WILLIAM HEATH.

Boston, 2^d Nov^r, 1781.

SIR, — I received your favour of the 3^d ult^o, with one inclosed for Governor Hancock which was delivered in course, and I shoud have done myself the honor of addressing you before now had I any thing decisive to communicate to you, respecting my errand to this place; but after a good deal of trouble and difficulty, it was not before the 23^d inst^t that any thing had been determined on. I must, however, do the Governor justice to say that I have found him from the first moment earnestly disposed to contribute, as much as in his power, to the dispatch of my business.

I have at last the pleasure to inform you that 35 waggons loaded with clothing are now on the way, and that the whole, I expect, will be in motion in the course of a few days. ~~There are a number~~ of recruits at Springfield, as I am informed, preparing to go on to camp, which will answer the end of a detached guard from the army, and will enable me to dispense with your assistance untill the goods arrive at Fishkill, w^{ch} will be on 18th, 20th, and 25th inst^t. Between 80 and 90 waggons will take this clothing from that place to Philadelphia, by the way of Sussex Court House, in as many divisions as Colonel Hughs will judge most convenient. You will therefore, Sir, be pleased to order a detachment of as

many men as you may think necessary for the protection of the goods to attend the waggon as far as the place of their destination, unless they are relieved by another guard, which the Board of War will probably order to meet them on the way.

I take the liberty of referring you to the inclosed letter to Mr Brooks, w^{ch} is left open for your perusal, and beg leave to request it may on rec^t hereof be enjoined in general orders, that the mode of making out the returns of receiving and issuing the clothing be henceforward strictly conform^{ble} to the regulations prescribed in the resolve of the 18th June, a copy of w^{ch} I had the honor to send you from Newburg. The clothing I came here in quest of will not, I apprehend, be adequate to the wants of the rest of the troops. I have, however, good hopes to be able to make up any deficiency in a short time after my return to Phil^a; what gives me pain is that it will not be in my power to make as early a distribution of this clothing as I could wish. Every moment's delay adds to my uneasiness, but more dispatch on my part could not have been made and I hope the army will do me the justice to think so, when it is considered that, notwithstanding all the difficulties I had to encounter, the goods have been all landed, put in a good condition for the road, and for the greater part set in motion in the space of three weeks from the date of my arrival here.

Give me leave, Sir, to congratulate you most heartily on the late glorious events to the southward, which have added so much lustre to the American arms, and which must for ever endear the name of a Frenchman to this country.

I have the honor to be, very respectf^y, Sir,

Y^r most hbb. s^t.

JOHN MOYLAN, *Clo^r Gen^l*.

WILLIAM HEATH TO JONATHAN POLLARD AND
SAMUEL BARRETT.HEAD QUARTERS, CONTINENTAL VILLAGE, NOV^r 3rd, 1781.

GENTLEMEN, — Your favor of the 21st of Sep^r and sundry papers enclosed came duly to hand by Colonel Hatch. I have delayd an earlier answer that he might be the bearer of it to you. I shall be happy when it falls in my power to serve you, or either of you. In your present request as the papers are stated I cannot do it, as they contain some things novel to me, and others very differant from my apprehension of them.

I will just state you the several circumstances to which your application refers as they were transacted by me, and remain on my mind. When I called on General Burgoyne for a settlement of the accounts of supplies furnished the troops under the Convention of Saratoga, after a long discussion of the subject I agreed with him, which was committed to writing and mutually signed by us, that he should pay the quarter master's accounts of fuel, forage, &c, in *specie*, that a certain quantity of provisions should be sent from Newport to the harbour of Boston in a given time, to replace in part such as had been supplied by our commissaries, and a further quantity should be sent from New York also in given time, that for the fullfillment of this agrement and to pay any deficiency that might happen in the provisions sent falling short of the quantity supplied, a pledge in specie was to be lodged in my hands, the ballance of which after the acco^{ts} were settled was to be paid into the hands of General Phillips. Matters being thus settled I sent Colonel Pollard with General Burgoyne to Rhode Island, to receive the specie in payment of the fuel acco^t and the pledge which was to remain in my hands and safely

convey it to Boston, which was his whole commission, and requested Mr Barrett to go with and assist him; the commission was executed, the money received and brought to Boston, and the matter conducted to my full approbation, except in the instance of consenting to receive (if I do not mistake the sum, for all this is on memory only) £ 288 commissary's and clerk's wages in paper money, which I disapproved, because not expressed in the commission, and after much altercation with General Phillips obliged him to pay it in specie. All these several matters were fully and at large represented to Congress, those respecting my agreement, &c, previous to your return from Newport; those of your bringing the money and my agreement with General Pigot through the medium of Mr Morrison, a British commissary, after your return; they are all now in the files of Congress, and their answers in mine. I cannot therefore give any certificates but such as strictly correspond therewith.

Having thus stated the premises you will allow me, Gentlemen, to give you my opinion thereon, which is that Colonel Pollard, being one of my family, a publick officer receiving publick pay and rations, was sent as such by me on this publick business, and I cannot conceive that he can on any principal whatever claim any thing extra more than his extra expences. Mr Barrett was in a situation differant, his address and abilities in business induced me to request him to go with and assist Col^o Pollard. Numbers of gentlemen in Boston would have been happy in the opportunity. It was my intention, and what I many times expressed, to pay his expences if any there were, and such compensation for his time as he judged reasonable, and if the account had been presented an order on the quarter master, or paymaster would have been immediately issued.

All risk and hazzard of the money lay with Colonel Pollard as the military officer who was instructed to take

measures for its security, and no unavoidable accident could have been chargable on him.

On the whole, Gentlemen, if any application is made to Congress it is my opinion it should be by M^r Barrett only, bottomed on my request to him to assist Col^o Pollard, supported by my certificate that the service was performed, and that he has not received a compensation for his trouble. These, Gentlemen, are my sentiments as a man, as your friend, and as the servant of the publick.

I am, with great regard, Gentlemen,

Your most obed^t serv^t.

W. HEATH.

Colonel JON^A POLLARD and SAM^L BARRETT, Esqr.

ALEXANDER McDOUGALL TO WILLIAM HEATH.

WEST POINT, Nov^r 7th, 1781.

SIR, — M^r Vanzandt reports to me that the teams are beat out, and that we are not to expect but very little more wood from below. This is disagreeable intelligence, as the garrison is not properly supplied for the winter. We have failed in what I always knew we should fail in; transportation to the water.

The vessels have not been employed above half the time since we began, owing entirely to the failure of transportation. Had this not been the case, we should by this have an ample supply, and this drudgery done in the men's old cloathes. In our present prospect the garrison will be obliged in February or March to be collecting and backing wood, to the great disadvantage of their new cloathes and their shoes; and when the roads will be deep. These consequences may still be avoided and the men employed in manœuvring when the spring

opens, if teams are now furnished. The stock for the general and staff is about one hundred and sixty cords, which is by no means sufficient, as it is old wood. It is not equal to eighty of solid wood. This will fall far short of an ample provision, considering the number of general officers expected on. I was the less anxious for that line from a full conviction of my being able to provide an abundance before the first day of December, if the wood was carted to the landing. No pains or attention has been spared by me or the garrison to lay in a sufficient magazine. But the failure has not rested with us. The country have no right to expect we are to cover them from the enemy, shivering with the cold, when they have teams and plenty of forrage to cart us wood; and a few hundred cords will suffice. It is enough for the officers and soldiers to want bread, and not be frozen with the cold. Wood for this post has for years been carted by impressed teams. If I am not mistaken you are authorised to impress them. The *call* is pressing, the season will not wait for us. The troops may be very illy supplied with provision during the winter; and we ought not to expose them to the additional hardship or temptation of want of wood, least we see another mutiny this winter.

Those who may be displeased at your availing yourself of the benefit of the law intended for the comfort and security of the army, will be the *first to censure you* if any accident should take place for want of that necessary article. If the Legislature should pass a law to impress forrage, the collection will be late, the roads will become very bad, and the public teams will be so weak that they cannot be employed for that purpose; so that finally you must press teams, or expose this garrison to suffer, which neither God nor the Legislature asks of us. I have judged it my duty to you, to the garrison, and to the country to make you this representation, that I may

hereafter be acquitted of every consequence which may take place for want of a proper supply of wood for this garrison.

I have the honor to be, Sir,

Your most obedient, humble servant.

ALEX^R McDOUGALL.

Major General HEATH.

WILLIAM HEATH TO GEORGE CLINTON.

HEAD QUARTERS, CONTINENTAL VILLAGE, NOV^R 7th, 1781.

SIR, — Several of the people called Quakers some time since, as they say, came from Long Island, have been into the country and yesterday were returning, were stoped by the officer on the lines and sent up to me. Colonel Hughes who was at my quarters when they came knew one of them, a M^r Rickman, who he saies was alwaies reputed a disaffected person in New York. These people alwaies express much inoffensiveness and that they do not meddle with politicks, but I have known some of them to collect very good intelligence. If they will do it on one side, they will on the other; however, not knowing what has been the mode of conduct with this sort of people I have sent them to your Excellency. They own that they some time since applied to General Washington for leave to come over from Long Island to the main, and that he refused them.

I have the honor to be, with the highest respect,

Your Excellency's most obed^t serv^t.

W. HEATH, M. Gen^l.

His Excellency Governor CLINTON.

LORD STIRLING TO WILLIAM HEATH.

ALBANY, NOV^r 10, 1781.

(Secret)

DEAR SIR, — The circumstances of Major Ross's scituation, who commanded a party of the enemy amounting to 607 rank and file, the loss of near one half of the recruits that went from New York for Quebec in August last, together with St Leger's probable scituation at present, will greatly reduce the enemy's force in Canada, and I think presents a fair opportunity for carrying on a winter's expedition into that country, at least so far as to reduce St Johns, Chamble, and Montreal, and to be ready to proceed to Quebec early in the spring. The necessary preparations for such an expedition would be but few and those not expensive; the cheif article would be about five or six hundred strong, three barred, wood sleys, the cost of which cannot amount to above 30/ each. These might be built partly at Fish-kill and partly at this place; and might be used either for this expedition or for one to New York, or both; indeed, I belive it is the only way to take it without shipping, as theirs are generally rendered useless by the first of January, about which time there generally is favourable weather to go in with sleys over the ice, and out of reach of the enemy's cannon. It will then be time enough to prosecute the other, as the ice in some parts of Lake Champlain is seldom strong 'till the first of February. If any part of this should be adopted there will be no time to loose in the preparations.

I am, very sincerely, your most humble servant.

STIRLING.

General HEATH.

WILLIAM HEATH TO ALEXANDER McDOUGALL.

HEAD QUARTERS, CONTINENTAL VILLAGE, Nov^r 10th, 1781.

DEAR SIR, — I am happy to hear that you have made your particular arrangements for any emergency that may happen.

Part of the company of artillery you refer to are ordered on a command; when they return they shall be ordered to West Point.

The militia men in the garrisons of Verplank's and Stoney Points shall be releived by an equal number of regular troops; the D. A. G. shall order the releif from the four brigades in the field for the present.

When I had the honor to command this department in 1779, I gave pointed and particular instructions to the officers commanding the garrisons of Verplank's and Stony Points for their conduct in common cases and in case of their being attacked by the enemy, which were approved by the Commander in Chief. I continued them the last year and I cannot find that they have since been altered; they are perfectly understood by the commanding officers. They are that the garrisons respectively shall consist of about sixty men, amply supplied with twenty or thirty days salted provisions, which are to be alwaies kept in reserve, and that *the posts be defended to the last extremity*. The commanding officers aim to have them provided, and expect to defend them accordingly. I would still have it impressed on them.

It is a standing order that no superfluous stores are to be left at the ferry, and a few days since I cautioned Colonel Hughes to se that it was observed. There is likewise a standing order for the removal of the boats when the enemy are coming up the river.

A movement which we have in contemplation forbids my sending two companies to the north and middle

redoubts at present, but there is a detachment of Connecticut troops repairing their huttts, who you may direct on an alarm to repair to those redoubts. There is another at the New Hampshire hutts who shall receive similar orders; and in case of a serious movement of the enemy I will seasonably throw other reinforcements into those works. You need be under no anxiety about them.

From the situation in which you represent the chain to be, it is best to have it taken up immediately.

I have the honor to be, with very great regard, dear Sir,

Your obed^t serv^t.

W. HEATH.

P. S. If you think the force you have at present is not sufficient for the defence of the works please let me know it immediately.

M. Gen^l McDougall.

ALEXANDER McDOUGALL TO WILLIAM HEATH.

WEST POINT, November 10th, 1781.

SIR, — I am honord with your favours of the 7th and 8th instant. The attention paid to the boats correspond minutely with the orders of his Excellency respecting them. And yours will be punctually executed whenever the weather permits.

I always designate the alarm posts of the troops I have the honor to command, as soon as they come into garrison. My arrangments are made for the defence of the garrison in every particular, so far as I am furnished with means, and whatever is deficient will be supplied as fast as those come to hand.

Col^o Crane informs me he is weak in artillery men, and that there is a company with the army which can

be spared. I wish this may meet your approbation. If you fall back from your present position, the ranges for field artillery are very few, till you get above the mountains.

The time of service of the militia is rapidly expiring every week, and a part of the garrisons of Stoney and Verplank's Points are of those corps. It will greatly facilitate my arrangements and promote the service, if you should think proper, to relieve those men by regular troops. This garrison is so harassed with various kinds of fatigue that we can ill spare a relief for them from here.

If a captain's command of the Connecticut troops, well officered, were put in the north and south redoubts, I should imagine it would ultimately fall in with your arrangements; and relieve me from some anxiety. It is no new thing in service to sacrifice advanced posts and corps for the advantage and general security of an army. In this light I always considered the posts at Stoney and Verplank's Points; and I acted on this principle in 1779, which I am persuaded was the means of saving this post that year. I am not happy enough to be possessed of your opinion on this subject, although those posts are understood to be under my orders in ordinary circumstances. Yet I wish to have them under the present.

As you command in the department, it is necessary under the aspect of the enemy's object, that your orders respecting those posts, should be given in the most explicit manner, under every contingency that may possibly happen, if I am to be responsible for them, and I beg to be favoured with them as soon as possible. There is time now for deliberation on the subject, which may not be the case whenever the wind shifts. I take the liberty to be thus urgent, as it is a fact perfectly familiar to me that whenever the enemy get above the frize, near Fort

Washington, half a tide will bring them up to King's Ferry, with the fresh southerly winds which prevail at this season of the year, and which always succeeds a hard northerly wind. If the enemy intend a serious movement up the river, his hope of success must be in a coup de main. He will therefore not stop with his principal force at King's Ferry if the wind does not fail him, or some other accident retard his motion. For altho' the batteries at those Points will greatly wreck his shipping if they anchor, yet with a fresh breeze he will pass without sustaining much damage. For these reasons would it not be proper the dep^y q. master and boatmen should have their orders early?

As to the chain, it has been ready to draw in four days past; but the violent wind has prevented us; and it is now in such a state that we are in danger of loosing it, unless it is brought in, or secured parmanently. If this is done in the advanced season of the year, it may employ the whole garrison to the 1st of March to cut it out of the ice, which was the case in 1778. And as the enemy cannot think of setting down seriously before this place at this late period of the year, an attempt to pass the post would be a risque without an object. Indeed, I wish they would attempt it; nay I wish every ship in New York was above the post.

The quantity of wood laid in is considerable; but the quality of a great part of it is very light, so that by experience of our burning it we cannot estimate it at more than a quarter part of wood of a durable quality.

If my memory serves me the law of this State for impressing teams invests *only* the Governor and the commanding general with that power. If this construction is the true one, your order to Col. Hughes for teams to transport wood will be ineffectual, as those in the public service are beat out. And if the garrison suffers for want of wood, neither they nor the State are

to blame. The Legislature have passed the necessary laws for relieving the army in cases of emergency and distress. The garrison have done its duty. If providing wood for it at this day is not a case of emergency, and if the want of it in winter is not distress, I know not what emergency or distress is. If we suffer distress, and suffer it we shall, if teams are not provided in time, it will add to our distress that it will be imputable to our chief, who has it now in his power to prevent it.

The bearer waits your orders for Verplank's and Stoney Points, in the point of light I have mentioned.

I have the honor to be, Sir, your humble servant.

ALEX^r M^cDOUGALL.

Major General HEATH.

BENJAMIN TALLMADGE TO WILLIAM HEATH.

FAIRFIELD, Nov^r 12th, 1781.

DEAR GENERAL, — In my last letter I had the honor to inform you of my intention to cross to Long Island on the business of which we had heretofore conversed. My silence since that time must have given you some anxiety, but when I assure you that I have not been able to send you the least information of my situation since I went over to this time, having been detained on Long Island by a most tedious and uncommon north west wind, I trust you will be satisfied.

About a week ago I left my detachment under the charge of Major Trescott, and embarked at this place for the purpose above hinted at. When we arrived on the other shoar, I soon found that the enemy were on all sides of us, a detachment of about 200 having gone to the eastward to cover the foragers, and about 20 or 30 more being posted a little to the westward of us, at a place called Craneneck, to protect some vessels, &c. On

the same night of our landing, having but about 20 continental soldiers with me, we marched about five miles to attack the latter detachment. The enemy were apprized of our approach and immediately retired by water.

Having finished in a little time the business which I expected, and which will be noted in a letter accompanying this, I waited anxiously for an opportunity to return to this shoar. At 3 o'clock yesterday morning, for the first time in 8 days past, the wind began to abate and promised a good time to return. At the same time I got information that the detachment which heretofore guarded the enemies' vessels at Craneneck, had returned. As the enterprize could not delay us long, and anxious after all our fatigue to give them a blow before we returned, we were immediately in motion for this purpose, and at sunrise were within a small distance of them. From a thicket I discovered their guard on a high hill near the shoar, at the foot of which was a fine large schooner, a number of boats, and the remainder of their party. As we had to cross an open field before we could reach them I was apprehensive they would betake themselves to their boats, but in this case I was certain we should secure the vessel. The troops were ordered to advance with the utmost expedition without firing on the guard, which the enemy perceiving, immediately quit the strong eminence in the most dastardly manner and immediately got on board their boats. As soon as we reached the hill we began a brisk fire on them, which continued from within 20 yards till they were out of our reach. We took but one prisoner, but discovered several killed, and from our nearness as well as from the oars which fell overboard, a considerable number of them must have been killed and wounded. We immediately took possession of our prize, but unfortunately for us she was aground, and as it was not prudent to continue there long, we stripped her completely of all her rigging, &c.,

and to our great mortification were obliged to set her on fire. The rigging was all bro't to this place, and as the men with me have undergone much by the cold and more by hunger, having had little else to eat than clams for several days, I propose with your consent to divide the proceeds among them. In this case your order for condemnation will be necessary.

I am further happy to assure you that the enemies' three vessels which some time ago I informed you had drove ashore near the *Old mans* are compleatly destroyed: their rigging is concealed and will be bro't off.

It has been matter of extreme mortification to me that a detachment of the enemy should be so far from support down the island and that I could not return to visit them with my whole detachment. This consideration has mortified me more than all our other sufferings, which when you reflect on our situation I am sure you will not think were small.

I am just honored with your letter of the 8th which Major Trescott has complied with in my absence. I shall set off this day to join Col. Sheldon.

I have the honor to be, with the highest regard and esteem, d^r Gen^l,

Your most obed^t and h^{ble} serv^t.

BENJ^A TALLMADGE.

P. S. Inclosed is a return from Capt Brewster for cartridges and flints which he needs exceedingly. The bearer will wait your order to receive them.

B. T.

Gen^l HEATH.

BENJAMIN TALLMADGE TO WILLIAM HEATH.

FAIRFIELD, Nov^r 12th, 1781.

DEAR GEN^t,—The object of my late visit to Long Island you may recollect was to effect an interview with

certain persons who had been previously directed to make discoveries on the banks of the N. River near Fort Washington. Just as I crossed I rec^d a line from S. G., informing that he would do the needful. As he was returning from N. Y. unfortunately for us he was taken up on suspicion of being a *spy*, and is still detained. I frequently heard from him while I was on L. Island, and tho' no papers were found on him which could lead to a discovery, he is still detained on suspicion.

Another person who was very friendly was confined at the same time.

I am, however, informed by H. J. who was direct from N. Y. that Sir H. Clinton had landed his troops on Staten Island, and would bring them up to York as soon as the wind would permit.

That the whole fleet had returned to the Hook without having seen the French fleet. That 16 sail of the line were ordered to be ready for sea immediately, and the victualler of the fleet said they were to go to the West Indies under the command of Adm^l Graves, and that Digby with the remainder would probably stay at N. York.

That Sir H. Clinton was universally condemned for the loss of Cornwallis, and that the Tories, who find no terms allowed to those who had joined Cornwallis, but must await their doom at the hands of the civil magistrate, are very clamorous. They say the protection they were promised is not extended to them, and that they had rather fling themselves on the mercy of their country than trust to a capitulation made by B. officers in which their interests are not considered. The merchants at N. Y. have some of them turned Whigs, because Gen^l Washington did not suffer the property of the merchants at York and Gloucester to be plundered.

Tho' I was disappointed in the accurate intelligence which I promised myself of the situation of the enemy

on the north end of York Island by the confinement of S. G., yet I learn that the strength and position of the corps in that q^r is nearly as you have heretofore conceived them to be. The Yager infantry frequently send patrols along the bank of the river, but have no standing sentinels. From the magazine below F^t Washington south there is sometimes a patrol of Yager horse, more to prevent surprizing the Gen^l at Morris's house than any thing else. His guard consists of about 20 men commanded by a subaltern, and the Yager horse have a chain of sentinels in front of their pickets and a few in rear of their huts, but these are so near that they are of but little service. The Donop corps are more alert and better guarded. They have a chain of sentinels round their encampment and patrols.

As I shall soon be in the vicinity of camp, if any enterprize should be undertaken will come to h^d q^{rs}.

I have the honor to be, d^r Gen^l, with great regard,

Your most obed^t serv^t.

BENJ^A TALLMADGE.

Gen^l HEATH.

SECRET INTELLIGENCE FROM NEW YORK.

November 18, 1781.

DEAR SIR, — I have not time to give you the particulars of the trial of M^r S and myself; let it suffice to say that we were acquitted by the court with honour, while our acusers have the mortification of lying in provoost.

There is nothing material at present for me to write, as you have the intelligence from [*erased*]. There has been a movement since he came out of N. Y. All the troops who went out with Clinton on their return landed on Staten Island. They have since come to Long Island, and are cantoond from Brookline to Increase Carpenter's house, two miles to the eastward of Jamaica. 20 sail of

the line have gone to Jamaica, one is going to England, the remainder are to stay at N. York. Two or three rigments moved from N. Y. to M^cGouen's pass on Thursday and Fryday last, and a very considerable artillery.

I wish you would facilitate the procuring a flagg for the purpose of getting my wife over.

I am, &c.

S. G.

JOHN GLOVER* TO WILLIAM HEATH.

SIR,—I beg leave to inform you that my expences are so cruelly great that I cannot, nor am I obliged to, support them (had I it in my power) any longer. This being the sixth day my horses have been kept on hay purchas^d by the hundred with my own money.

I do therefore request it as a favor, you^d give me leave of absence, to visit my family, retire into the country, where I can find keeping at a less expence, or appoint me to a command equal to my rank, where I may be supplied with such necessary forage in common with other officers as y^e public affords; and that you would please to order some other person to preside at y^e board appointed to settle the subalterns' rank,—it being incompatible for me to attend under my present circumstances; were they otherwise the business cannot be don without paper, that being an artical exceedingly scarce, (except at head quarters, and the q. master's office); and I haveing no money to purchase any, it would be altogether impossible for me to proceed any farther on that business.

I have the honor to be, Sir, your most ob^{dt} hbl ser^t.

JN^o GLOVER, *M. General.*

CONTINENTAL VILLAGE, 20th Nov^{br}, 1781.

Hono^{ble} Major Gen^l HEATH.

* For a notice of General Glover, see 7 Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. iv. p. 118 n. — Eds.

ALEXANDER McDOUGALL TO WILLIAM HEATH.

WEST POINT, 29th November, 1781. 5 P. M.

SIR, — I was duly honored with your favour of yesterday. Besides the considerations I stated to you in my last, of the justice of retaining some rum for the extra fatigue done here for the army in general, there are others which I forgot then to mention. Parties from your army frequently stop here, greatly fatigued, and assert their provision is out and press for an issue of rum and provision. In general those articles have been issued, altho' it was out of the quota of those articles allotted to the garrison, the consequence of which has been that we have been longer without good bread than the troops under your immediate command. For altho' the number of days we have been destitute of that article may not much exceed, or perhaps equal, those which the corps on the east side have been deficient, yet the difference of any in our favour has been owing to our eating the flour condemned at, and rejected by your army. We have been so hard pressed with labour and the want of bread, that the troops eagerly grasped at any thing to satisfy their craving hunger. It is therefore just that an allotment be made in the reserve of provision and rum for those parties *besides* that for the *extra* fatigue of the garrison. For as we are the pack horses on the communication, none of our quota of provisions or rum should at our *loss* be issued to parties not belonging to the garrison, while they or the corps to which they belong reap the benefit of what is appropriated to the garrison. I flatter myself from the justice of your heart that you will please to order a provision for this service. And I imagin in the present position of the army on the east side, three or four hundred rations a week will supply the calls from those contingencies, — when you were

below it would require more. To prevent those parties imposing on us, they should have a certificate from their commissary to what time they have been served, or they will not have any order for provision from this post. If my memory serves me, this is agreeable to an act of Congress. I ask for no favour for the garrison, nor do I doubt your readiness to distribute all the public means in your power equally to the troops under your orders.

It is not my duty, nor my inclination, to dispute the propriety or justice of detailing the escort for the prisoners from the whole army. But I can with great truth assure you, our fatigue is very severe. This morning for want of forrage, we have been obliged to detach a large party to bring in coal and shingles from four miles distance, to keep the general armory at work and to finish the stone guard house. The blacksmiths and armorures having been two days idle for want of coal; and the jobbers on the guard house four for want of shingles. Multiplied as our calls are for fatigue out of the garrison, incident to the communication, we have more of it local than those out of it can conceive. The distant works are mostly tolerably well garrisoned, as they ought to be, and have to build their barracks and collect the materials for these as well as their wood, and back both for some distance in the fall of the hills, some of which are very steep in their ascent, and others of them mere precipices, while all that can be spared from proper military duty are on fatigue of various kinds; and no small party detailed to cut and prepare shingles for the general hospital. Besides those latter duties, the garrison have been greatly born down with the long necessary fatigue of collecting and backing their wood for want of teams, which has done much injury to their shoes and cloathes.

In this condition, your orders of yesterday direct, "That a captain, three subs, four serg^{ts} and sixty four

rank and file well clothed are to be detailed tomorrow and proceed on command. The captain will receive orders at the Connecticut hutts, where the party will parade at twelve o'clock, A. M." This order is farther explained by one sent by the D. A. General, a copy of which I take the liberty of enclosing. By the last order the 2nd brigade is to furnish a captain, sergeant, corporal, drum, and fife, and twenty seven privates. And it is addressed to Captain Abraham Williams, sub inspector of the 2nd Massachusetts brigade. This is a very unequal detail of that command, if the 2nd brigade was collected and not subject to any extraordinary fatigue, but when the contrary is the case, it deserves a name which a respect to you forbids me to mention. But this is not the only evil on the face of the last order. It is addressed to Captain Williams, who is not the executive staff officer of the garrison, but for a part of it. And Captain Williams from his office is under no obligation to communicate the order to me. If it is his duty to obey the order for one man, it would be his duty to do it if the whole brigade was subject to a like order, and thus a principal part of the garrison might be ordered off without my having any knowledge of the order. This surely is not military. And I perswade myself neither the detail nor the address of the order came from you. If the party could have been appointed, they would in all probability have been sent off unknown to me. If I had not the most favourable opinion of Col. Grosvenor, he would have been served with an arrest. But it would be doing him great injustice to attribute the one or the other to any cause but a mistake. Notwithstanding the injustice of the detail and the informality of the order, it would have been complied with; but Captⁿ Williams asserts it was not in his power to do it, if the detachment was appointed according to the order. General Paterson is directed to have his brigade minutely inspected as to

their cloathing, and to make a report of its condition under the hands of all the officers of his corps; which shall be immediately transmited to you on my receiving it.

Whatever orders you shall please to give, whether they are clearly or doubtfully in the line of service, shall be implicitly executed. But permit me at the same time to inform you that it is my determination for the future to disobey every unmilitary and absurd order which may be given by any of your executive officers, and to put them in arrest, however disagreeable it may be to me, if any such are handed to this garrison; *not from any personal dislike to them*, but to have the path of service more fixed and settled than it seemes to have been, since I have lately had the honor of serving under your orders.

I am, Sir, with due respect,

Your most obe^t, humble servant.

ALEX^r McDougall.

Major General HEATH.

WILLIAM HEATH TO ALEXANDER McDougall.

HEAD QUARTERS, HIGHLANDS, Nov^r 29th, 1781.

DEAR SIR, — Yours of this date is just handed to me. As the small supply of rum we receive is distributed equally to all parts of the army, in due proportion to the rations issued by each commissary, the soldiers coming from one post to another have no right to expect to draw rum; when it is necessary they should receive it before or after they perform their duty at the post to which they belong. As I am in hopes the present distressing scarcity of flour is nearly over, and which alone renders a distribution of what we receive necessary in order to do equal justice to all the troops; any particular part being assigned for the purpose of comers and goers at the Point I think also unnecessary, for when there is a sufficiency in the magazine, the garrison commissary

can replenish his store when ever necessary. While the scarcity remains, and an equal proportion is given to every post and corps, it would be improper to have a reserve for those, who, beside partakeing of their equal share with their own corps, go to another post to get an addition.

It was my orders that the escorte for the prisoners to Lancaster should be taken from the whole army, my motive was that of strict justice, all the troops are nearly clad alike, all are preparing their winter covering except the brigade at the Point, who fortunately for them were early sent to prepare and make their situation comfortable, and notwithstanding the fatigue incident to the post, they are at present in easier circumstances than any other brigade of the army. I shall, you may rely, at all times endeavour to treat all the troops I have the honor to command with equal justice. When I had given my orders to the D. A. G. I had done with them.

In the general orders of the 25th I directed that an officer from the garrison should attend daily for orders, which would seasonably and properly convey any orders that might be issued. I can only say that I have always found Col^o Grosvenor acquainted with his duty and most assiduous to execute it, but why he addressed Cap^t Williams instead of Cap^t Haskell in the instance you mention is not within the sphere of my knowledge.

I have the honor to be, with great regard, dear Sir,

Your obed^t ser^t.

W. HEATH.

Major Gen^l McDougall.

WILLIAM HEATH TO GEORGE CLINTON.

HEAD QUARTERS, HIGHLANDS, Nov^r 30th, 1781.

SIR, — I am this morning honored with yours of the 27th. It was my intention that the two New Hampshire

regiments now at the northward should winter in that quarter, and apprehended they would be sufficient for the posts on the Mohawk River also, after the time of service for which the levies are engaged expire. I have seasonably been ordering provisions to Albany, except flour, and cautioning Gen^l Stark to avail himself of the best opportunities to have them sent to those posts which will require them during the winter. I have written to the Commander in Chief and informed him of my intention if he approves it. The two regiments above mentioned will garrison the northern district. Their strength will probably be between three and four hundred each, which I think will be sufficient during the winter; if you think otherwise, I will thank you for a hint on the subject. I cannot spare any regular troops for other of the western frontiers, and the State must provide for them if necessary. The moment I receive the approbation of the Commander in Chief I will direct General Stark to send a detachment seasonably to relieve the levies on the Mohawk River. The distribution of the army to winter quarters is as follows, — the Jersey line near Morristown; the New York line between that and the North River, perhaps near Pompton; the Connecticut line at the hutts built by them the last year; the Rhode Island reg brigaded with the Connecticut line; two Massachusetts brigades at West Point, — one near the south redoubt on the east side of the river, and one regiment in the hutts built the last year by the New Hampshire troops; the 2nd reg^t light dragoons in Connecticut; the artillery at West Point. Light parties will be kept on the lines, below Crompond and at Bedford for the protection of the country. I think there will be no alteration at the northward, unless Brigadier Gen^l Hazen's reg^t should go to that quarter instead of the two New Hampshire reg^{ts}. This I shall know when I hear from the Commander in Chief.

I will thank you for information what places at the northward will be most probably exposed to the incursions of the enemy during the winter, and where and in what numbers the troops will be most advantageously cantoned.

I have the honor to be, with very great respect & esteem,

Your Excellency's most obed^t serv^t.

W. HEATH.

His Excellency Governor CLINTON.

GEORGE CLINTON TO WILLIAM HEATH.

POUGHKEEPSIE, Dec^r 4th, 1781.

SIR, — I have been duly honored with your favors of the 26th, 29th, and 30th ult^o. I am much obliged to you for the particular detail of the distribution of the army to winter quarters which you have given me, tho' it was not my intentions to have troubled you for more than what immediately related to the protection of the frontiers of this State. The two New Hampshire regiments, if they exceed 300 each, and the season should not prove milder than common so as to render the country more easy of access to light parties of the enemy, I am of opinion may by a judicious disposition answer the purposes for which they are intended, tho' if Hazen's could conveniently be added to that service it would not only ease the regiments in point of duty, which I fear will otherwise be severe, but give greater security and confidence to the exposed settlements.

The posts usually occupied in the winter and, I believe, best calculated to cover the country, are Saratoga to the northward (from whence detachments can be made to White Creek and Ballston) and Fort Herkimer, Fort

Rensselaer and Johnstown on the Mohawk River (from which small detachments can also occasionally be made to other small posts in their respective vicinities) and Schoharie, about thirty miles west of Albany. I am not so intimately acquainted with the importance of these different places relatively considered as to be able to determine what proportion of the troops each ought to have, but generally it appears to me that at least the largest regiment of the two ought to be destined to the western posts above mentioned, and this not diminished by any detachments which may be necessary to leave at Albany or Schenectady for the security of the public stores, &c. The northern frontier is not so extensive nor more exposed to the enemy and can derive more speedy and effectual succour from the militia. The western frontier of Ulster and Orange being more remote from the enemy's posts, and of course less liable to their incursions, especially in the winter season, may with greater ease be defended by the militia of those counties, who are remarkably well affected and favorably situated for the purpose. With respect to Westchester county, it is so contiguous to and connected with the army and under the eye of the commanding officer of the department that he can always best determine of the measures and force for its defence, and I would therefore wish to be governed by his advice as to the embodying any additional force for that quarter. It was the importunity of some of the principal inhabitants alone that could have induced me to mention the erecting of blockhouses in the vicinity of Bedford, and if they can be made contented without them I shall be perfectly so; but I would gratify them with almost any thing rather than that they should abandon their settlements.

It is my opinion it will be best to treat all the persons taken by Col^o Willet as prisoners of war. If they should be delivered over to the civil authority of the

State (if consistent with policy) it would be difficult, if not impracticable, to bring them to trial for the offences they have committed, and the result would be either an escape from our prisons or a liberation on bail, and we should in either case loose the advantage of an exchange.

I am, with great respect & esteem, Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

GEO: CLINTON.

The Hon^{ble} Major Gen^l HEATH.

WILLIAM HEATH TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.*

HEAD QUARTERS, HIGHLANDS, Dec^r 4th, 1781.

DEAR GENERAL, — The enclosed letters from General Bailey and M^r Adams were handed to me a few days since by Cap^t Edgar, the person refered to in those letters. Cap^t Edgar's want of money has induced him not to think of proceeding farther southward. He is for the present gone to Albany, where he has several friends. He informs me that there is undoubtedly a plan of union matureing between the British government in Canada and some of the leading men of Vermont which, it was said, would take place in the course of five months from the begining of last September; that a Colonel Thomas Johnson, who belongs to the Grants and is a prisoner at Montreal, has interested himself in the matter with views of discovering their design, that if his exchange can be effected, he will discover the whole plan. Cap^t Edgar apprehends the enemy will be permitted to take some advantages in Vermont which will give them foothold when a peace takes place, and that their movement over the lakes this fall had a view to the same plan, but by the measures which were adopted they were defeated;

* Washington's answer is printed in 5 Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. iv. pp. 231, 232. — Eds.

that Major General Riedesel actually went up Lake Champaign, altho he did not take the command; that the enemy's force was about 2,200 men; that they took with them a number 9 and 6 pound cannon; that they have a number of small batteaux and canoes, which cannot be designed for the lakes, but for some of the rivers. How far the capture of Earl Cornwallis and his army may operate upon them to change their plan is uncertain; they have been flattering themselves that the Earl would effect great things in the South. General Riedesel is to command at Montreal. I believe the bulk of the people on the Grants are as warmly attached to the American cause as any of the inhabitants of the thirteen States, but at the same time I believe there are some designing men among them. Your Excellency can best determine what use or whether any can be made of these hints. Cap^t Edgar represents Lt. Colonel Stacy, several officers and a number of soldiers who are in captivity in Canada to be in a most wretched situation. I beg leave therefore to submit to your Excellency some measures being taken to effect their exchange and the exchange of Col^o Johnson, by which means the suspected plan may be developed.

I have the honor to be, with the greatest respect,
Your Excellency's most obed^t serv^t.

W. HEATH.

His Excellency General WASHINGTON.

P. S. The State of New York are impatient to have a settlement of the forage consumed in West Chester county by the allied army. I some time since wrote your Excellency that Congress had directed me to take measures to have the quantity ascertained, which obliged me to request your orders to the quarter masters to favor me with returns of the number of horses, cattle, &c., which were kept by the allied army while in said county. Your Excellency was pleased to inform me those officers

✱

should be directed to forward such returns; as I have not received them I request the officers may be desired to forward them, as soon as may be convenient.

I have the honor to be, as before.

W. HEATH.

Apprehending that Guilford and Branford pointed out by Governor Trumbull for the winter quarters of Col^o Sheldon's reg^t were so near the Sound as would render their situation either exposed to surprise, or tend to prevent the horses getting properly recruited, upon a representation the Governor and Council have been pleased to order preparation to be made for them, at the Societys of Worthington, Kensington, New Britain, Westfield, and Middleton, and in the towns of Farmington and Middleton, where I believe they will be well provided for.

WILLIAM HEATH TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.

HEAD QUARTERS, HIGHLANDS, Dec^r 12th, 1781.

DEAR GENERAL, — I have been honored with yours of the 28th ulto.

I have desired General Stark to make a disposition of the two New Hampshire regiments to the differant posts at the northward and on the Mohawk River, and to see that each is seasonably and properly supplied with provisions. I ordered a quantity some time since to Albany for the purpose.

I am happy to hear your Excellency has been conversing with M^r Morriss both on the subject of flour and money; officers and soldiers are confident of receiving every assistance which is in your power to obtain.

The troops who hutted a new on this side of the river have nearly compleated their hutts, and those brigades

that went into old hutts have repaired them. They are in great want of clothing, the whole of the materials expected from the eastward will I believe arrive in the course of this week. Our flour remains scanty, but we have the best supply of meat, both salt and fresh, that I have known for several years past, if at any time during the war.

The troops from the southward have brought us the small pox, which I fear will spread. If we could obtain a few hospital stores, I think it would promote the service to have all such as have not had the distemper immediately inoculated.

I have the honor to be, with the highest respect,

Your Excellency's most obed^t serv^t.

W. HEATH.

P. S. There are here a subaltern and sixteen or eighteen men belonging to the Rhode Island reg^t. Shall they be ordered on to join their reg^t or remain here? If clothing is to go on for the regiment, these men may serve for an escorte.

W. H.

His Excellency General WASHINGTON.

ALEXANDER McDOUGALL TO WILLIAM HEATH.

WEST-POINT, December 16, 1781. 7 P. M.

SIR, — To be prepared for every contingency which might happen on the river to interrupt our transportation, Colonel Putnam was out for several days to reconnoitre the country, on both sides of the river, for the most practicable routes to open roads to bring in our provisions and forage. He had not completed it when he was ordered on court-martial; although he was for that important object kept off duty in garrison. The distress

we now suffer is owing to his not being able to complete his observations, — there being a supply of flour above the mountains, but neither the roads nor the river was practicable.

This is one of the disorderly effects of detailing the officers of this garrison with the army ; nor is this the only instance of disorder from that practice. An officer who was on main guard for a week was detailed for other duty. I shall not enter into any further discussion on this subject till the Commander in Chief comes on, when I shall apply to him to have this and several other unmilitary practices determined in a more solemn manner than can now be obtained. For, Sir, give me leave to tell you, I know my own rights and those of the garrison, not in speculation, but in as long and as attentive service as my superiors. In the mean time, Sir, that service may not be injured, and that the distressing and pressing calls of humanity may be relieved, I beg Colonel Putnam may be relieved and suffered to go on that service.

I have the honor to be, Sir,

Your most obedient and most humble servant.

(Signed) ALEX^R M^CDOUGALL.

Major General HEATH.

WILLIAM HEATH TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.*

HEAD QUARTERS, HIGHLANDS, Dec^r 18th, 1781.

DEAR GENERAL, — I was honored with yours of the 8th the day before yesterday. I have directed returns to be made conformably, immediately ; those from the regiments here shall be forwarded without delay ; those from the two New Hampshire regiments at the north-

* Washington's answer is printed in 5 Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. iv. p. 233. — Eds.

ward and Colonel Sheldon's dragoons cannot be obtained untill some time hence.

I was at loss whether your Excellency had called upon the New Jersey and New York Lines to make returns to you. I have therefore written to the commanding officers of those Lines that if they have not received your orders, to make out the returns and send them here as soon as possible.

General Stark writes me that he is in a bad state of health and must visit his family. I had requested him to delay his journey a short time, in expectation that General Hazen would arrive in this quarter, whom I intended to request to take the command of the northern district this winter. I am lately informed that your Excellency has thought proper to detain him at Philadelphia. I must therefore entrust the command at the northward to the senior officer of the New Hampshire Line, as it will not be possible for General Stark to remain during the winter, and there is no general officer who can be spared from this post. Perhaps your Excellency may not think the presence of general officer necessary in that quarter during the winter.

I have the honor to be, with the highest respect,

Your Excellency's most obed^t serv^t.

W. HEATH.

His Excellency General WASHINGTON.

WILLIAM HEATH TO ALEXANDER McDUGALL.

HEAD QUARTERS, HIGHLANDS, Dec^r 19th, 1781.

DEAR SIR,—Yours of the 16th is before me. The appointment of Colonel Putnam President of the General Court Martial was by the D. A. G., and I presume because he found him next for that duty on the roster.

If he was appointed out of his turn Col^o Putnam had a right to complain; if he was on other important duty the orderly officer from West Point should have mentioned it to the D. A. G. that another officer might have been named; the same should have been done with respect to the other officer. These are matters which should be adjusted at the orderly office; but I apprehend the difficulty lies some where else, viz^t, in the troops on the west side of the river being called on general duties with those on the east side, or as it seems very frequently expressed of late the garrison, with the army. It is therefore necessary to make a few observations on this head, in order to shew that the distinction which subsisted while the army was in the field was in a considerable degree done away when the army moved into winter quarters, and the *whole* became a garrison to the posts in the Highlands, or as they are some times called the posts on Hudson's River, or more commonly West Point and its dependencies; and for my own part I know of no exemption which one post has from *general duties* more than another. West Point is the capital post in the Highlands and has its dependencies, but it is itself one of the dependencies of my command, and in every respect like other posts is subject to my orders, nor have I exercised any command over one post or another which by the custom of armies I should not have had a right to exercise, (exclusive of my instructions) had I moved from the field into the posts, and found you Governor of West Point, a commission which I have never yet heard you possess. There are certain rights or powers which are usually exercised by the commandants of posts, and there are those exercised by commanding officers of divisions or brigades in quarters assigned to posts, — such as the internal police and government of the place, but this is not to exempt them from general duties or general command; there can be but one head. Several would

be a monster, the consequences confusion and disorder. I do not doubt your knowledge of your own rights, and the rights of those under your immediate command or your long and attentive military service, but I must confess that some principals which seem to be hinted are to me entirely novel, both in practice and in *speculation*. You may be assured, Sir, that I never will knowingly infringe the rights of any officer or corps which I have the honor to command, — they are too dear to me; but I too have rights which shall not, because they ought not, be infringed. You undoubtedly have a right to appeal or complain to the Commander in Chief of any unmilitary practises, and that in as solemn a manner as you think proper.

The grounds on both sides of the river were very carefully reconnoitred the last year, and roads opened in the supposed best places to afford the short transportation to West Point when the river is obstructed, and yesterday I requested Colonel Pickering, the Q. M. G., to order the flour collecting at New Windsor by Mr Stewart to be pushed down by the road on the west side, and that collecting by Major Wyckoff on the east side. I am confident the roads already made will admit, if they have been repaired, of more flour being brought down than we shall be able to obtain. But I have ordered Col^o Putnam relieved from the court martial that he may prosecute his reconnoitring a better road, if to be found, and for some other business for which I may have occasion for his services.

I am, with great regard, dear Sir, your obed^t serv^t.

W. HEATH.

Major Gen^l McDougall.

WILLIAM HEATH TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.*

HEAD QUARTERS, HIGHLANDS, Dec^r 30th, 1781.

DEAR GENERAL,— With mine of the 22nd I had the honor to forward the returns of the regiments in quarters here, as called for in yours of the 8th. I have since received returns from the New Jersey regiments and Invalids—those from the New Hampshire Line, New York Line, and Sheldon's reg^t are not yet come to hand; as soon as I receive them they shall be forwarded.

Some time the last winter your Excellency was pleased to order a board of officers to revise the former report of the board of officers on the rank of the captains of the Massachusetts Line, some of whom thought themselves injured. The board reported to your Excellency, but, an approbation or disapprobation of the report was never expressed. Several of the captains remain very uneasy, and I believe there are very apparant grounds for some of them being so. They are frequently applying to me on the subject. I wish if your Excellency has no objection to the report that it might be made known generally; if there are objections to it in a general view, that where there are evident mistakes in the dates of some commissions to the injury of others that they may be corrected. It is said Cap^t Hayward of the 6th reg^t has a commission dated some months before it ought to have been, by which he takes rank of Cap^t Tisdale of the 3rd reg^t and Cap^t Smith of the 6th; both are older officers. I am informed Cap^t Hayward does not dispute their right, but having the commission holds it. This, I believe, was rectified by the

* Washington's answer to this letter and the letter of Jan. 1, 1782, is printed in 5 Mass Hist. Coll., vol. iv. p. 236. — Eds.

board of officers in their report, but remains as before with the officers, and frequently excites uneasiness.

I have the honor to be, with the highest [respect],

Your Excellency's most obed^t ser^t.

His Excellency General WASHINGTON.

W. HEATH.

WILLIAM HEATH TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.

HEAD QUARTERS, HIGHLANDS, Jan^y 1st, 1782.

DEAR GENERAL,—I was honored with yours of the 24th ulto. yesterday; have this day called for returns of those who have not had the small pox, and directed that preparations be made for putting them under inoculation as soon as possible.

I do not know whether the clothing for the Rhode Island reg^t is gone on or not; the subaltern and party shall be instructed conformably to your directions. The D. A. Gen. informed me this morning that he had not received the form of a return from the A. Gen^l, as mentioned in your letter. Perhaps it may reach him this day.

Lieut. Colonel Command^r Reid is the eldest officer in the New Hampshire Line, and in case of Gen^l Starke's absence, unless some other officer is sent to the northward, will command the troops. I have just received a letter from him, representing the absolute necessity he is under of going home some time this winter. If General Hazen cannot be spared to go to the northward, I believe it would not be disagreeable to General Paterson, if your Excellency should approve it; during his absence from his own brigade it will be commanded by Colonel Putnam whose abilities are fully known to your Excellency.

This day the new system of supplying the army here by contract commences. I hope it will answer the expec-

tation of Congress. Particular instructions from the Secretary at War were expected, pointing out the mode of returns, orders, vouchers, &c; none have arrived. I have been obliged from the necessity of the case to direct that the new system take place, but that the old mode of returns, orders, &c, continue untill the instructions arrive. The contractors are exerting every nerve to ensure an ample supply of provisions. The clothier general is issuing the clothing with all possible expedition, having begun with the blankets, vests, overalls, shirts, hose, shoes, &c., which will afford the first relief; and it never was more needed. Many of the troops are almost naked. The cloath for the coats, vest, and overalls is very good; part of the blankets are also very good, but a large number of them are so small that a man cannot cover himself in one of them. Three might make two good ones. At present it is impossible that they should keep the men warm. There is also a very considerable number of baize blankets. Your Excellency knows their quality. There is a great deficiency of shoes, and a great number of men now barefooted, but the greatest difficulty will be to get the cloathing made up. The regiments are nearly four hundred strong upon an average; there are not, I believe, more than five or six taylors in a regiment, — in some not so many. The clothier general in his advertisement for taylors from the country offers twelve shillings Pennsylvania currency for every suit which shall be made up, consisting of a coat, a woolen vest, breeches, and overalls. This I fear will be considered by the taylors as but small encouragement, but Mr Moylan thinks is as much as he can venture to offer. If it was August any small delay would not be so material; at this season every moment is precious. The troops are suffering inconceivably, and unless a very considerable number of taylors are collected it will be spring before the cloathing is all made up.

I am just informed that about fifty men belonging to the regiment of light troops late under the command of Colonel Scammel are left sick at Annapolis, principally with the small pox. They are under the command of Lieut. Jackson, of the 8th Massachusetts reg^t. He has written in the most pressing manner for assistance; he had applied to the Council of the State for relief, but could not obtain it. Five or six of the men had died before he wrote. He represents that such as get well can not move untill cloathing is sent them. To send the clothing from here will be more expence than it will be worth when it gets there, and will take up a considerable length of time. Cannot some relief be sent them from Philadelphia, or be procured where they are at less expence than if sent from here? Some recruits have lately arrived from Massachusetts; a number more are collecting. I wish your Excellency the compliments of the season, and have the honor to be, with the highest respect,

Your Excellency's most obed^t serv^t.

W. HEATH.

His Excellency General WASHINGTON.

WILLIAM HEATH TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.*

HEAD QUARTERS, HIGHLANDS, Jan^y 8th, 1782.

DEAR GENERAL, — I was yesterday honored with yours of the 31st ulto., to which strict attention shall be paid.

The letter from the orderly office, with the form of a return, did not come to hand untill yesterday; no time shall be lost in collecting the returns conformably thereto.

The small pox spreads and is mortal. I have directed the inoculation of such as have not had the distemper to take place immediately, but it is delayd for the want

* Washington's answer is printed in 5 Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. iv. p 237. — Eds.

both of medicine and stores. Mr Sands has promised to have the latter ready by Thursday next, but the hospital are destitute of a sufficiency of the former. There is a large quantity of medicine in the hands of the clothier, part of which is to be left here, if it could be taken without breaking packages; if not, the orders are most pointed that the whole be sent on together to Philadelphia. We shall have about 2,000 men to inoculate, and the pox is not of the best kind in the natural way, it is probable a considerable quantity of medicine will be wanted; if it goes to Philadelphia, a proportion must be brought back immediately. In the interim many brave men may be lost for want of it. The orders are so positive and the directors of the hospital being absent I do not chuse to break in upon the orders of the Board of War and order the packages broken, but I have taken the resolution to detain the whole, and to send off this representation by express with orders to ride day and night. I request your Excellency will obtain such directions from the War Office or Congress as will afford the necessary relief. The enclosed letter to Doctor Cochran, which I have taken the liberty to put under your cover, will shew what articles are wanted.

I have the honor to be, with the highest respect,

Your Excellency's most obed. ser^t.

W. HEATH.

His Ex^{ty} Gen^l WASHINGTON.

WILLIAM HEATH TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.*

HEAD QUARTERS, HIGHLANDS, Jan^y 10th, 1782.

DEAR GENERAL, — The regimental taylor's are now busily employed in making up the clothing, but their

* Washington's answer to this letter and the letter of January 14 is printed in 5 Mass Hist. Coll., vol. iv. pp. 237, 238. — Eds.

numbers are by no means sufficient. Few if any have yet engaged from the country. The clothier has resolved to offer more encouragement. The inoculation of the troops will deter those who have not had the small pox from coming to work in the respective quarters of the regiments. To remedy this I intend, if the country taylors should be induced to come in, to have some shops at Fitchkill, Newburgh, or New Windsor, for those who have not had the small pox, where an officer shall superintend each. It is apprehended that there are many taylors in the compass of twenty or thirty miles who will not leave their shops, but at the same time would take home cloath for a number of suits, make it up, bring in the cloaths, and take out another quantity. This is frequently practised at the eastward when large quantities of clothing is to be made up. I wish to know your Excellency's opinion whether it will be prudent and proper to employ any in this way.

When orders came for isuing the cloathing, there was an exception to the music, as there was a probability of an alteration. I wish to know whether the matter is determined respecting them, as many of them are very naked.

Desertions from the enemy are very frequent, and those who come out say they will continue. Five light horsemen from Arnold's corps lately came out with their horses, &c, compleat. Two of them were deserters from our army. I ordered them confined in order for trial; one of them has been tried and is sentenced to suffer death. I have not yet approved or disapproved the sentence. I am sensible that desertion to the enemy is one of the blackest of crimes, and ought to meet the most exemplary punishment, but in the present state of things when there are but very few desertions to the enemy, and a great part of those who have deserted and are in the service of the enemy are wishing to return, a

doubt arises in my mind whether it be consistant with principals of policy to execute any of those who come out, as this will put a stop to it, when the infliction of corporal punishment may not. Even the publication of a sentence of death, altho the culprit should be pardoned, will have nearly the same effect as an execution on those who are with the enemy. I therefore wish your Excellency's opinion, on this head, whether it will be best to let the law have its due operation and punish those who come out according their deserts or otherwise.

I have the honor to be, with the highest respect,

Your Excellency's most obed^t servant.

W. HEATH.

His Excellency General WASHINGTON.

WILLIAM HEATH TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.*

HEAD QUARTERS, HIGHLANDS, Jan^y 14th, 1782.

DEAR GENERAL, — I have the honor to enclose the returns of the Massachusetts and Connecticut reg^{ts} lately called for, except Sheldon's legionary corps and the 3rd reg^t of artillery; there has not been time to expect the former, the latter is delayed by the river being impassable a day or two past. As soon as they come to hand they shall be forwarded with those of the New Hampshire Line, which cannot be expected this some days. On the night of the 10th inst a number of vollunteer horse under the command of a Capt. Honnywell, covered by a detachment of regular troops from our lines, made an excursion to Morrissania, and surprised the enemy's picket at Delancy's bridge. Capt. Totten, who commanded the picket, and one soldier with two militia men were made prisoners; the rest of the picket escaped

* Washington's answer is printed in 5 Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. iv. pp. 237, 238. — Eds.

under cover of the night. Capt. Totten is considered as the most active officer in Delancy's corps and has been very troublesome on the lines.

We are now in a good way with the cloathing, have found many more in the regiments than was expected who are capable of working tollerably well with the regimental taylors. The materials are good. There is a great want of buttons for the garments. There are men who could cast them in the regiments if they had pewter.

I have the honor to be, with the highest respect,

Your Excellency's most obed. ser^t.

W. HEATH.

His Excellency General WASHINGTON.

WILLIAM HEATH TO ALEXANDER McDOUGALL.

HEAD QUARTERS, HIGHLANDS, January 18th, 1782.

SIR,—Although I have a high personal regard for you, and take up the following with reluctance, duty to my country and superiors, the honor and rights of command, the preservation of good order and discipline, the very existence of which seems at this time to be threatened, compel me to exhibit the following charges against you of conduct unmilitary and unbecoming an officer ; particularly in the following instances.

1st For ordering the distribution of a sloop load of boards sometime about the middle of December last, designed for the use of the department, to the troops at West Point only, when their arrival ought to have been reported to the commanding general, or deputy quartermaster of the department, that an equal distribution might have been ordered, and other troops who equally needed them, some of whom were suffering with the small pox, might have received relief.

2^{dly} For not reporting to the commanding general the escape of upwards of thirty prisoners from the provost at West Point on the night of the 4th instant, that orders might have been sent to the out-posts to take measures to intercept them on their way to the enemy, and it being an occurrence which ought to have been reported.

3^{dly} For drawing orders on the clothing-store at Newburgh, which is the prerogative of the commanding general only, and which he signified to you in a letter of the 26th of September last. Such your orders, beside invading the right of the commanding general, have involved some of the paymasters in embarrassments in their accounts.

4^{thly} For writing a letter to the commanding general on the 16th of December last, containing several expressions injurious to command and unbecoming an officer.

5^{thly} For directing Colonel Crane, commandant of artillery in this department, to deliver arms and accoutrements on the 16th instant, contrary to the general order of the 4th instant, and threatening to send him to the provost in case of refusal.

6^{thly} For conversing before the field officers of the several corps stationed in the garrison of West Point, who were convened at your request on the 16th instant, in a manner unbecoming an officer, tending to excite sedition, create divisions, subvert good order and discipline, and wound the service.

7^{thly} For conversing before officers of different ranks, and particularly on the evening of the 7th instant, in a manner unbecoming an officer, tending to lessen confidence in the commanding general, to limit command, bring orders into contempt, and destroy that due subordination which is the life of discipline, and the only barrier against confusion and disorder.

On these several charges, I order you in arrest, and you will please to consider yourself in arrest accordingly, un-

til you are brought to trial, or released by proper authority. Brigadier-General Paterson will take command of the garrison, and the original of which this is copy will be transmitted to the Commander in Chief.

I am, with great regard, Sir,

Your obedient servant.

Major General McDougall.

W. HEATH, *M. General.*

WILLIAM HEATH TO JOHN PATERSON.

HEAD QUARTERS, HIGHLANDS, Jan^y 18, 1782.

DEAR SIR, — Major General M^cDougall being ordered in arrest, the command of the garrison of West Point devolves on you. You will please to exercise the command accordingly. The posts at Verplank's and Stoney Points are considered as dependencies of the command. You will please pay all possible attention to the garrison, forts, redoubts, magazines, &c, and see that every thing is kept in as perfect condition as possible, and the greatest vigilance observed by the guards and sentinels. Please advise me frequently of the state of things.

I am, with great regard, dear Sir,

Your obed^t serv^t.

Brigadier General PATERSON.

W. HEATH.

WILLIAM HEATH TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.*

HEAD QUARTERS, HIGHLANDS, Jan^y 18th, 1782.

DEAR GENERAL, — Enclosed are several charges against Major General M^cDougall on which I have this day ordered him in arrest. I have taken this step with reluc-

* Washington's answer to the letters of January 18 and January 19 is printed in 5 Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. iv. pp. 238-240. — Eds.

tance and pain, but matters have become so circumstanced that nothing short of it could prevent scenes of confusion. I request your Excellency will be pleased to order a General Court Martial as soon as you may think proper. On the 4th inst thirty one or two prisoners made their escape from the new provost at West Point, part of them have been retaken. The officer who had the guard has been tried at court martial, sentenced and reprimanded in orders.

I have the honor to be, with the greatest regard,

Your Excellency's most obed serv^t.

His Excellency General WASHINGTON.

W. HEATH.

WILLIAM HEATH TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.

HEAD QUARTERS, HIGHLANDS, Jan^y 19th, 1782.

DEAR GENERAL,—The enclosed information I had yesterday from Issaac Cotton, the person mentioned therein. He saies such was the conversation, in September and October last, at M^r. Mott's tavern where he quartered, and which was a principal rendezvous of the Pennsylvania refugees. Whether those miscreants have given over their plan or not I cannot say, but have thought it my duty to communicate it to your Excellency. Cotton further informs me that since he has been confined in our provost, he has had conversation with one Ephraim Eayers, formerly of Brookfield in Massachusetts, but has since been in the service of the enemy, and taken prisoner and is now in provost. Eayers informed Cotton that he was of opinion that the enemy would early this spring cross the Lakes and that they would be joined by the Vermonteers, and others in the northern quarter. Eayers is an arch shrewd fellow, but whether he has any grounds for his opinion I cannot say.

I have directed the clothier to employ all the country taylors which came in first to make up the clothing of the 10th Massachusetts reg^t, and as soon as it is done the men who have had the small pox shall march for Albany, and I will write to Colo. Tupper, who is now at home on furlough, to repair to Albany and take the command, unless he should have gone to Boston to settle his accounts.

The enclosed is copy of the letter which I received the last evening from Boston. Major Lunt has received orders from the committee to distribute the clothing equally to the regiments of the Line of the Commonwealth; why the Legislature did not comply with the late recommendation of Congress, and what their intentions are I know not more than what is contained in the enclosed. I wish to know your Excellency's opinion on the matter. Major Lunt is not in his instructions directed to ask the opinion or advice of any person, but to issue the clothing. Whether for this year or the last, or how it is to be charged, is not mentioned. He has promised me he will not, however, issue any part of it untill I have an answer from your Excellency, which I request as soon as you may think convenient. An equal number of articles drawn from the store to such as may be received may be returned again, but how is regularity to be preserved in the ordinance and system?

Enclosed is also a letter from General Schuyler respecting a Capt. Duncan, who was tryed some time since and sentenced by a general court martial composed of militia officers appointed by Gen^l Stark. I wish your opinion and direction on the proposal of Gen^l Schuyler. I must confess for my own part I never place much confidence in such people, or wish to have to do with them.

I have the honor to be, with the greatest respect,
Your Excellency's most obedient servant.

W. HEATH.

His Excellency Gen^l WASHINGTON.

P. S. I am this moment informed that Major John Porter of the 6th Massachusetts reg^t is gone to France. I wish to be informed whether he had leave from your Excellency or Congress for so doing.

W. H.

WILLIAM HEATH TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.*

HEAD QUARTERS, HIGHLANDS, Feby 8th, 1782.

DEAR GENERAL, — On the evening of the 4th I was honored with yours of 29th and 31st ultimo, with several packets for the eastward. The latter were forwarded the next morning by a trusty officer instructed conformably to your directions. The returns of the New Hampshire reg^{ts} were not come to hand, altho I had written three or four times in the most pressing manner for them. It seems the first letter covering the forms reached Albany just as Gen^l Stark was leaving the place, and whether he took them with him or what became of them is not known. A day or two before I was honored with your letters I sent off a special express with another form of the returns, and a pressing injunction to Colo. Reid to loose not a moment in compleating and forwarding them. I have received his answer that I shall have them with all possible dispatch. I have written General Lincoln respecting these returns as your Excellency was pleased to direct.

The patients who have been under inoculation for the small pox in the 10th Massachusetts reg^t are recovering, as are those of the other reg^t. The 10th reg^t shall move to Albany as soon as the men are perfectly recovered and clothed.

By a former resolution of Congress regimental pay-

* Washington's answer to the letters of February 8 and February 13 is printed in 5 Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. iv. pp. 241, 242. — Eds.

masters, adjutants, and quarter masters, inspectors, &c, were allowed an extra ration, or some of them rations equal to captains. Are they continued under the new system or not? a doubt arises with the contractors, and I have not the means of determining the matter. If the Secretary at War was present I should address him on the subject, and not trouble your Excellency. The officer commanding on the lines complains of a heavy burthen falling on him, and thinks some extra allowance should be made him on account of his situation. The officers commanding at King's Ferry, think their situation also requires some aid. Enclosed is a line from General Paterson, which I take the liberty to transmit, and request your opinion and direction.

Colonel Pickering being gone for Philadelphia, I wrote him respecting the returns of cattle, &c, kept by the French army. The arbitrators who are appointed to settle the forage accounts are to meet in a few days. If the returns from the French army are not obtained, one of the best means of ascertaining the quantity of forage will be lost to the public.

By the former orders an officer previous to a discharge being granted was to produce a certificate from the paymaster of the regiment, the auditors, and the commanding officer of the reg^t. As the auditors have for some time ceased to act, what certificates are now to be considered necessary previous to an officer's being discharged?

One Charles Gillchrist, a soldier in the Massachusetts Line who deserted and was taken up after the expiration of your Excellency's pardon, and under the act of the State which in such case decrees a term of service beyond what was stipulated in the enlistment, was tryed the last year at a brigade court martial, and it appears sentenced to make up the deficient time of his three years engagement only; then to be discharged. The man now applies for his discharge, the time being compleated, which is the first of

my hearing of it. I conceive that a brigade court could have no right of interference in the case when the law of the State and your Excellency's proclamation had decreed otherwise, and that the man must be held, the sentence of the court notwithstanding, unless your Excellency thinks proper to discharge him. I pray your directions in the case.

The Rhode Island hutts were built the last year on a part of a farm which the owner wishes to improve this spring, and which he was prevented the last year by his land being laid common. As his fences were destroyed and all the adjacent timber collected for the hutts or burnt, the proprietor applies for leave to take down the hutts for the purpose of fencing the lands. Some of the hutts are in good order, but are not nor will they be improved this winter; shall the proprietor be permitted to take the hutts down or do with them as he thinks proper, after they are appraised, which may be necessary in part to ballance the bill of damages he may sooner or later exhibit for payment?

I have the honor to be, with the highest respect,

Your Excellency's most obed. serv^t.

W. HEATH.

His Excellency Gen^l WASHINGTON.

WILLIAM HEATH TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.

HEAD QUARTERS, HIGHLANDS, Febr^y 13th, 1782.

DEAR GENERAL, — A day or two since I was informed that a large number of arms, (said) seven or eight thousand stand, were brought from the eastward and lodged in stores on the bank of the river at Clavarack, and there left without guard or direction that I can hear of. General Schuyler passing that way, apprehending they were

in some danger from the character of the people of the vicinity on the other side of the river, obtained a militia guard untill a guard could be sent by Col^o Reid from Albany, which has been done. As soon as I was advised of the matter I directed Col^o Hughes to remove the arms to Fishkill immediately, as I think for several reasons it is both impolitic and unsafe to trust them at Clavarack. By whose order or why they were sent there I do not know, perhaps it was thought the best rout of transportation.

The officers are growing very uneasy respecting their rations, the price of a ration by the contract is $9\frac{1}{2}$ Pennsylvania currency. Mr Sands charges four pence half penny for the gill of rum, four pence half penny for the pound of beef, two pence for the bread; this makes eleven pence without the small articles, so that the subaltern who is entitled to two rations cannot receive more than one and a half. I have written the financier on the subject by this post. The officers cannot conceive why they should be charged more than Mr Morriss gives, or they are to receive. I request your Excellency will please to give it such consideration as you may think it deserves. It certainly will be productive of great uneasiness if allowed to continue as at present.

I have the honor to be, with the highest respect,

Your Excellency's most obed^t serv^t.

W. HEATH.

By the contract for the northern district the contractors are not obliged to keep any provisions on hand. From the situation of some of the posts and at particular season the difficult access to them whereby they will be put to extreme hazard unless some reserve of provisions are kept on hand, I have desired the contractors to provide accordingly. They are equally with me convinced of the necessity. I have mentioned it to Mr Morriss; hope he will approve of it, and that it

will also meet your Excellency's approbation. It was a measure that I dare not omit, as it might occasion the loss of some of the posts.

W. H.

His Excellency General WASHINGTON.

ADDITIONAL CHARGE AGAINST GENERAL McDOUGALL.

HEAD QUARTERS, HIGHLANDS, Feb^y 13th, 1782.

In addition to the several charges against Major General McDougall of the 18th of Jan^y last the following is now exhibited, viz^t :

For ordering two or more public buildings near Fishkill landing to be pulled down in the months of Nov^r and Decem^r last and the materials to be removed to West Point; makeing additions, and erecting buildings at West Point without the knowledge or consent of the commanding general, altho present at the post, when General McDougall's command at the post was of a temporary nature only, and such measures not warranted either by his instructions or military principals.

W. HEATH, *M. General.*

WILLIAM HEATH TO LORD STIRLING.

HEAD' QUARTERS, HIGHLANDS, Feb^y 21st, 1782.

MY LORD, — Yesterday I was honored with yours p^r Cap^t Sill, containing some account of what took place when the members designed for the general court martial for the tryal of Major General McDougall convened at Fishkill. Conceiving it to be my duty to represent the matter to his Excellency the Commander in Chief, I thought it most proper to transmit him your

Lordship's letter, which I did, accompanied by one from the d^y judge advocate. What the result will be time must discover. I must confess I was much surprised to hear of the objections.

I hope this will find your Lordship in good health, and every thing agreeable around you.

I have the honor to be, with great respect, my Lord,
Your most obed^t serv^t.

W. HEATH.

P. S. A large quantity of arms, powder, &c, &c, is arrived at Fishkill and Fishkill Landing, a part of those stores are as soon as circumstances will admit to be deposited at West Point. In the interim, as the places where they are now stored are by no means proper or safe as magazines and occupied only from necessity, uncommon attention and precaution become necessary to prevent accidents or embezzlement. I therefore request your Lordship will please to order such guards, and such instructions to be given as you may think sufficient. I apprehend the invalid reg^t will be able to furnish the necessary guards; if it is not, let them be ordered from the Connecticut Line.

I have the honor to be, as before.

W. HEATH.

Major General Lord STERLING.

WILLIAM HEATH TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.*

HEAD QUARTERS, HIGHLANDS, Febr^y 23rd, 1782.

DEAR GENERAL, — The time of service for which the levies under the command of General Waterbury are engaged expires the last of this month, and altho the Legislature of the State of Connecticut have ordered

* Washington's answer is printed in 5 Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. iv. pp. 246-248. — Eds.

another detachment of militia to do duty on the lines at Stamford, I am apprehensive a very good work and convenient hutts for the accommodation of troops which have been erected at that place may be in great danger of being destroyed. I have therefore sent a detachment of regular troops to that post for a few days untill the militia can be detached and arrive, when they are to return.

We have fortunately removed all the arms and military stores from Clavarack to Fishkill and Fishkill Landing, from whence such as can be stored at West Point will be removed there, as soon as it can be effected. Enclosed is an invoice of the articles. Colonel Hughes has great credit for the dispatch with which he removed these stores from Clavarack to Fishkill. He informs me some articles were lost or plundered between Boston and Clavarack, that he has written back to the principal persons on the rout to make enquiry, and that the person who received the stores at Clavarack has noted on the receipts of those persons whose loads were deficient what was wanting.

I take the liberty to enclose an arangment of the subalterns of the Massachusetts Line; as great care and pains have been taken by the board I believe the arangement is as accurate as can be obtained. General Glover was the third person of the board, but was gone before the arrangment was coppied. He informed me that he had concurred with the other officers in it. If it meets your Excellency's approbation, on your signifying it I will make it known. It has been long delayed and those concerned are anxious to know their rank. I obtained from Colo. Varick the revision of the rank of the captains of the Massachusetts Line which was lodged among your Excellency's papers. It appears that altho the arrangment was compleat when given in, it is now far otherwise, from the promotion of several captains to majoritys, the deaths and resignations of many others

and promotions of some subalterns to captains. I have therefore requested the former board, viz^t, general and field officers commanding regiments in the Massachusetts Line, to compleat the list, by puting the whole forward as they stood before, closing the intervals occasioned by the different casualties before mentioned, when the list shall be presented to your Excellency.

The enclosed from Gen^l Paterson was handed to me yesterday. I wish your Excellency's opinion, on the subject of it.

I have the honor to be, with the highest respect,

Your Excellency's most obed. serv^t.

W. HEATH.

His Excellency Gen^l WASHINGTON.

P. S. General Schuyler in his letter respecting the military stores and that he had obtained a militia guard and promised them pay untill one could be sent from Albany, concludes: "Should it not be in your power to reimburse the expence of the guard, which may amount to £15 or £20, be pleased to advise me of it that I may apply to the Commander in Chief." As it is not in my power to reimburse the expence, I will inform him that I have presented the matter to your Excellency, and will wait your answer.

I have the honor to be, as before.

W. HEATH.

WILLIAM HEATH TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.*

HEAD QUARTERS, HIGHLANDS, Feb^y 27th, 1782.

DEAR GENERAL, — I have been honored with yours of the 19th.

I did not receive a letter from the Superintendant of Finance by the last post respecting the price charged for

* Washington's answer is printed in 5 Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. iv. pp. 246-248. — Ebs.

the ration issued to the officers. The enclosed observations were handed to me a day or two since by Lord Sterling, from which your Excellency will see a state of the matter, and the uneasiness which consequently exists among the officers of all ranks.

Nothing has been said with respect to artificers' rations or men on constant hard duty; they have been heretofore allowed a ration and half p^r day when so employed, indeed it is not possible for a man to work hard all day on the single ration. At present we have very few artificers except those which are taken from the regiments, and if men who are armourers, smiths, carpenters, or masons, wood cutters, boatmen, colliers, &c, are to labor hard all day and receive nither pay or extra allowance of provisions more than those who are idle in quarters, they will not work, at least to any great advantage. They alwaies have had a larger ration, and the propriety of it seems evident, but what the present intention is I know not. I therefore request to be informed, whether the rations of artificers and men on constant hard fatigue are to be as heretofore or not, that I may direct accordingly.

I have the honor to be, with the highest respect,

Your Excellency's most obed^t serv^t.

W. HEATH.

His Excellency General WASHINGTON.

PHILIP SCHUYLER* TO WILLIAM HEATH.

POUGHKEEPSIE, March 10th, 1782.

DEAR SIR, — Your favor of the 26 ult. took a tour to Albany before it came to my hands. I feel your attention with that pleasure which grateful minds only can experience, and sincerely thank you. Were I not so

* For a notice of General Schuyler, see 7 Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. ii. p. 6 n. — Eds.

much immersed in business I should do myself the honor of a visit. I may perhaps yet have that pleasure should the roads settle before the legislature rises.

I have lately received a confidential letter advising me that it has been warmly debated in Britain whether the troops should be withdrawn or continue and act defensively only, that those for the former of these two increase and [*in*?] numbers. I wish it may be true, but the idea is too dangerous to be promulgated, as it may increase that listlessness which already too powerfully pervades our councils and our people.

I am, dear Sir, with great esteem and regard,

Your most obedient and humble servant.

PH: SCHUYLER.

Honorable General HEATH.

Pardon me for writing on such very bad paper; necessity knows no law, and this is the last sheet I have in the house.

WILLIAM HEATH TO RICHARD VARICK.*

HEAD QUARTERS, HIGHLANDS, March 12th, 1782.

DEAR SIR, — When the members appointed to compose a general court martial for the tryal of Major General McDougall lately met, General McDougall objected to the president and three of the members. A report of the matter was made to his Excellency General Washington. I was yesterday honored with a letter from him of the 4th instant in which he is pleased to observe as follows, —

* Richard Varick was born in Hackensack, N. J., March 25, 1753, and died in Jersey City, July 30, 1831. He studied law and began to practise in New York; but on the breaking out of the war became a captain in McDougall's regiment. Afterward he was military secretary to General Schuyler, and aide-de-camp to General Arnold. After Arnold's treason he became recording secretary to Washington, in which office he continued until the close of the war. From 1783 to 1789 he was recorder of the city of New York, and from 1791 to 1801 mayor. See Appleton's *Cyclopædia of American Biography*, vol. vi. p. 280. — Eds.

“To determine on the objections which Major General McDougall has made to the president and three of the members of the court martial appointed for his trial recourse must be had to the precedent established on a similar occasion in the trial of General Arnold, in which the validity of challenges is ascertained. You will be pleased therefore to apply to my recording secretary, Col^o Varick, in whose possession I believe the original paper is for a copy of it, that the present dispute may be decided upon the principals there laid down. I inclose you a line to Col^o Varick for that purpose.”

No letter for you was enclosed under my cover. If you can find the paper, I will thank you for a copy of that part of it which relates to the challenge of members, &c.

I am with great regard, dear Sir,

Your obed. ser^t.

W. HEATH.

Col^o VARICK.

WILLIAM HEATH TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.

HEAD QUARTERS, HIGHLANDS, March 13th, 1782.

DEAR GENERAL, — By the last post I was honored with yours of the 28th ultimo and two of the 4th instant.

The mode proposed for supplying the officers with cloathing is to some of them agreeable, to others disagreeable; on which side the majority lays I am at loss to determine. Necessity will probably oblige many to accept the offer. They have for a long time been expecting some releif of money; they are as wretched for the want of it as can be conceived of. In a regiment perhaps not ten dollars can be mustered by all the officers belonging to it; many of them have been obliged to borrow money of inhabitants and run in debt to them for

necessaries upon promises of payment in a short time. I need not paint to your Excellency their feelings when they are dunned by the peasants for small sums, and at a loss what answer to give them. Many of them have families from whom they have been long absent, and whose circumstances require a part of their wages, and have probably for months been flattered with representations of relief, have obtained monies from their neighbours upon the expectation of having it in their power soon to repay them. These several considerations taken together produce reflections in the mind of the officer, not friendly to his own comfort or the public service. They have been so often deceived with paper money and depreciation notes, that any thing of the kind is scarcely listened to. They have generally proved opportunities for sharpers to feather their nests. From all that I see or can gather from the officers there never was a period when some *money* from some quarter was more necessary for the good of the service than at present.

I have heard nothing from General Schuyler on the subject of one of your letters of the 4th since he informed me that a scout had been sent out. I am rather apprehensive that the season will be too far advanced to expect any advantage, but every attention shall be paid to the object, if it should appear probable of success. Colonel Tupper, who now commands at the northward, informs me that about twenty Indians have been down to the Little Falls on the Mohawk River, burnt one house, and taken one prisoner.

I had some time since directed that the recruits should be drilled and instructed in the first rudiments of their duty with all possible attention, and the old soldiers, untill the ground got dry, exercised in companies in the manual exercise, firings, &c, that when the weather will admit of their forming battalion they may be perfected in their manœuvres. We yet continue to put under inocu-

lation such recruits as come on who have not had the small pox ; how long shall the practise be continued ?

I have written to Col^o Varick for the paper you are pleased to mention as the criterion to determine the validity of challenges in the general court martial for the trial of Major General M^cDougall. Your Excellency mentions that a line to Colo. Varick was enclosed. It was some how omitted ; none came under my cover. I am sorry that so many obstacles and delays happen in this business. I had flattered myself with the hopes of obtaining a short leave of absence before the campaign opened, to make a visit to the eastward. From a winter's very close confinement my health, as well as some private affairs, strongly urge it, and it is my wish whenever such indulgence can be obtained, it may be at a season eligible as it respects myself and the public service.

I am, with the highest respect,

Your Excellency's most obed. ser^t.

W. HEATH.

His Excellency General WASHINGTON.

RICHARD VARICK TO WILLIAM HEATH.

POUGHKEEPSIE, March 14th, 1782.

DEAR GENERAL, — I am this day honored with your favor of the [*blank*] instant, and was, on the 12th, with his Excellency's orders of the 28th February on the same subject.

In obedience to his orders and your requisition I send you the proceedings of the council of general officers in the case of General Arnold's challenges ; but the result is by no means so full as his Exc^y supposes, and there is no other paper in my hands to my knowledge more full on the subject. I have searched and researched the whole

proceedings in that year, but find none. If, however, any thing on the subject should be found, I will transmit it without delay.

I have this day received a letter from Lieut. Colonel Huntington of the 3rd Conn., requiring me in consequence of general orders of the 18th Jan^y last to send down a muster lad, whose name is David Gardner of that regiment, to join it on or before the 1st April.

In my answer to him I have engaged to comply with his request, provided I do not before that date receive your or his Excellency's direction or permission for some days longer, till I can hire or otherwise procure another, the means for which I can derive from the public only.

I shall be happy if you will be so obliging as to direct Lt Col^o Huntington to permit Gardner to remain till the Commander in Chief arrives, when I will send him to his regiment, or obtain a further indulgence, as the public finances shall put it in my power. In this expectation I shall retain Gardner, unless I receive your denial in the matter.

With esteem, I am, dear Sir,

Your obed^t serv^t.

RICH^d VARICK.

M. Gen^l HEATH.

WILLIAM HEATH TO LORD STIRLING.

HEAD QUARTERS, HIGHLANDS, March 17th, 1782.

MY LORD, — I am this morning honored with yours of yesterday. I am exceedingly sorry that your Lordship missed of seeing General Lincoln. He came here in the evening, and set off for Philadelphia the next day after dinner. He could not be prevailed on to make us a longer visit. I represented to him several matters which the officers of the army consider a grievance, to which he was pleased to assure me he would pay attention.

I have always found your Lordship very just and penetrating in your observations. You afford a new specimen of it when you are pleased to observe that you believe I shall wish to go eastward when his Excellency arrives. I do, indeed, my Lord, wish it most ardently. Eight months' absence renders a visit necessary on many accounts, and to look forward through another campaign without it is truly disagreeable. I am happy that your Lordship is present, which will admit of my absence when the Commander in Chief arrives. I have often experienced your attention and goodness, and shall, my Lord, remember them with gratitude. General Washington may be soon expected; he will leave Philadelphia soon after General Lincoln arrives there, which probably will be this day. But, my Lord, there is yet that troublesome court martial in the way, which may detain me after General Washington arrives. I am honored with a letter from the General in answer to mine, which contained a report of General McDougall's objections to several of the members of the court. His Excellency observes: "To determine on the objections which Major General McDougall has made to the president and three of the members of the court martial appointed for his trial recourse must be had to the president established on a similar occasion in the trial of General Arnold, in which the validity of challenges is ascertained"; and then directs that a copy of the paper be sent for from Poughkeepsie, which I have obtained, but it is not compleat. It appears that a council of general officers were convened June 1st, 1779. Your Lordship was present, but before a determination of the question for which the council was called advice was received of the advance of the enemy up the North River and to Kingsbridge, and the matter was postponed. Colonel Varick, the recording secretary, cannot yet find any other papers.

I have not the least objection to your Lordship's mak-

ing a visit to Rhynebeck, and pray you will please to present my compliments to Lady Stirling.

I have the honor to be, with the greatest respect,
Your Lordship's most obed^t serv^t.

W. HEATH.

Major General Lord STIRLING.

LORD STIRLING TO WILLIAM HEATH.

FISH KILL, March 20th, 1782.

DEAR SIR, — I was duly honored with your letter of the 17th instant, and thank you for the kind indulgence you have given me of paying a visit at Rhynebeck. The very disagreeable weather and extreme badness of the roads have hitherto prevented my making use of it, but intend to set out to-morrow morning. I shall return about Monday. In my way I shall call on Col. Varick at Poughkeepsie, and endeavour to find the paper his Excellency General Washington alludes to. It must be a mistake that I was present at a council of general officers on the first of June, 1779, for I was then travelling on the road from Trenton, and some days afterwards joined his Excellency in the Great Clove. I think the question on the validity of challenges must have been determined some time during the next autumn, but I believe I was not at the council, as I do not recollect ever to have heard that subject so largely handled as it must have been on such an occasion.

The enclosed letter with others from the Marquiss Lafayette were sent to me about an hour ago from Mr Lockwood's, A. D. P. M. G.

I sincerely congratulate you on the appearances of public affairs in England; even by Mr Rivington's accounts of them they are much in our favour. I think

it may be fairly concluded from the speeches of the two great ministers in the House of Commons that they mean to evacuate Carolina and Georgia, and to hold New York and their other posts on the continent for a good price in the hour of negociation ; and notwithstanding the high threats of Lord George that he will quit his post the moment Parliment gives independence to America, he will be obliged sooner or later to submit to the measure, after 179 members of that House have voted unconditionally for peace with America. I suspect that even the King is now for this measure, or the son-in-law of Lord Bute, Sir James Lowther, would never have proposed it.

With sincere esteem and regard, I have the honor to be,
Your most humble serv^t.

STIRLING.

Gen^l HEATH.

WILLIAM HEATH TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.

HEAD QUARTERS, HIGHLANDS, March 20th, 1782.

DEAR GENERAL, — I have obtained from Colonel Varick copy of a paper respecting challenges of members of courts martial, but it is not conclusive, and Colonel Varick informs me that after searching and reserching he cannot yet find any other. By the paper he has sent me it appears a council of general officers were convened at Middle Brook the 1st of June, 1779, when your Excellency was present and stated to the council that General Arnold had made peremptory challenges to several members appointed on the court martial for his trial, and requested the opinion of the council thereon, that at the instant intelligence was received of the advance of the enemy to Kingsbridge and White Plains and a fleet up the river as far as Teller's Point, on which the matter was deffered without decision at that time, so that no light can be derived from the papers yet obtained.

On the night of the 14th instant Lieu^t Harris of Cap^t Vermille's company of militia having obtained intelligence that a party of Delancy's corps were out at a house near Mile Square, he had the address to surprise the whole party consisting of twelve, to kill one, take and bring off four prisoners. All accounts agree that the enemy are strengthening some of their works at New York, cutting a canal, &c. A deserter yesterday from Staten Island informs me the troops there are employed in making a number of fascines, of nine feet length, about ten inches thick, bound in eight places.

I have the honor to be, with the greatest respect,
Your Excellency's most obed. servant.

W. HEATH.

His Excellency General WASHINGTON.

JABEZ HATCH * TO WILLIAM HEATH.

BOSTON, March 30, 1782.

DEAR GENERALL, — Your fav^r of 13th inst^a with the N. York paper came duly to hand. I sincerely thank you for the paper, as it gave us the latest newes. In a former letter I wrote you, I suppos^d the G. C. would take up the matter of recruit^s the army in the summer sessions. They have done it much earlyer than was expected, and have voted to raise fifteen hun^d men. Those, or the most of them, I hope will be with you before the end of the campagne. The method to raise them is by classing; this town's quoota is eighty four, am told the class money is paid into the hands of a committe who have procur^d a number of the men, believe about half the above num^r; belive in the country the matter goes on very slowly, all

* For Colonel Hatch's military record, see *Mass. Soldiers and Sailors in the Revolution*, vol. vii. pp. 490, 491. — Eds.

ranks and conditions of men are complain^s of taxes and the scarcety of money, which I realy think is not without some foundation. I sometimes fear the State will not be able to raise the sums requir^d by Congress; should they fail and the financere not be enabled to fulfill his contracts the consequence would be alarming, but I hope we shall gett thr^o. A day or two since a frigate from Brests, arriv^d at New Port; she saild with a large fleet, tis said nineteen sail of the line, and one hun^d and forty sail of transports, bound to the East and West Indies. This frigate was bound to Virgina, but was chas^d off the capes, and happily arriv^d at the forement^d port; she bro^t a large sum of money for the French troops, and dispatches for the French minister and Congress, which were sent off by express to-day. The Marquis Fayette and severall French officers embark^d about the time she saild, bound to America. Thus, S^r, I have given you all the newes in this quarter, but suppose you have later newes from Europe, as a ship is arriv^d at Phil^a in a short passage from France. This will be handed you by M^r Prince, who has kept the Grammer School at Roxberry for some time past; he tells me he shall stop at y^r quarters to deliver you a letter from M^{rs} Heath. He goes to Phil^a on bussiness and is to negotiate some for me; will thank you to point out to him the best and safest rout from your qua^{rs} to Phil^a. If I can obtain the money, shall purchace a num^r of teams for the army, and if you have any stores to come on shall be happy to forward them.

I am, S^r, with regard and esteem, your hum^l s^r.

J. HATCH.

Maj^r Gen^l HEATH.

WILLIAM HEATH TO HUGH MAXWELL.

HEAD QUARTERS, HIGHLANDS, March 31st, 1782.

DEAR SIR, — Your favor of the 29th inst. came to hand this morning. I wrote you on the 29th which has probably reached you before this time. I am anxious for the safety of every place within the limits of my command, and shall alwaies be attentive if possible to protect the inhabitants and counteract the designs of the enemy, but to be totally rid of them we must prepare for those grand manœuvres by which alone under the smiles of Heaven we can expect to vanquish them from our country. With a view to this the troops must be collected and disciplined, for in a united body, not in detachments, is the great work to be effected. You will continue where you are untill the 14th of April, unless you should receive other orders before that time, previous to which I hope a sufficient force will be furnished by the State of Connecticut for the safty of the post at Stamford. Knowing your attention, it is needless for me to inculcate vigilance. Please to collect me all the intelligence and papers in your power. We have no news of consequence. The Commander in Chief is expected this day. The officers are receiving their notes designed to enable them to furnish themselves with cloathing, &c.

I am, with very great regard, dear Sir,

Your obed. ser^t.

W. HEATH.

Major MAXWELL.

ALEXANDER McDOUGALL TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.

WEST POINT, April 1st, 1782.

SIR, — I have been extremely reluctant to trouble your Excellency while you were at Philadelphia least I might draw your attention from public objects of more moment than the case of an individual. The same consideration still influences me, till you are settled in your quarters; but as I am apprehensive Major General Heath may immediately apply for leave of absence from the army, I am constrain'd thus early to inform your Excellency that I have demanded of him a more particular specification of the charges of my arrest, in order that I might with propriety plead to them, or admit them and justify; but I have not been able to obtain this, however reasonable and just in itself, and I have a number of important charges to prefer against him which highly concern the army and the service. Whether it is proper in my present condition to exhibit these against him now must be left to the Commander in Chief. I shall take the liberty of transmitting them tomorrow, with my reasons for insisting on a more explicit specification of the charges. If this is not complied with before he leaves the army it will delay the trial; to many of them I cannot plead in their present form; it would be an insult to my understanding. As a freeman and an officer I therefore beg he may not have leave of absence till the charges are as particular as they ought to be.

Hearing that your Excellency had arrived today, I have taken the liberty of troubling you with this address; and have the honor to be, with great truth,

Your most ob^t and most humble serv^t.

ALEX^R M^CDUGALL.

(Copy)

His Excellency Gen^l WASHINGTON.

WILLIAM HEATH TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.

HEAD QUARTERS, HIGHLANDS, April 1st, 1782.

DEAR GENERAL, — This will be presented by Colonel Putnam of the 5th Massachusetts regiment, who will solicit your permission to be absent from the army for a short time. He was some time since appointed one of the arbitrators to ascertain the quantity of forage consumed by the allied army in West Chester county the last campaign, which has detained him, and must again require his attention on the 20th of May next. As your Excellency's orders enjoin all officers to be with their corps by the 10th instant I dare not presume to grant leave of absence to any beyond that period, but as Colonel Putnam early mentioned to me the necessity of visiting his family and attending to some private business before the campaign opens, I am led to request your indulgence to him. As soon as I hear of your Excellency's arrival at Newburgh I shall repair there and have the honor of paying my respects.

I have the honor to be, with the greatest respect,
Your Excellency's most obed^t serv^t.

W. HEATH.

His Excellency General WASHINGTON.

ROBERT HOWE TO WILLIAM HEATH.WEST POINT, April 13th, 1782.

SIR, — Gen^l M^cDougall having objected to Col^o Greaton's sitting on his trial, tho' in terms respectfull to the Colonel, I had the room clear'd in order to take the opinion of the members upon the subject. Col^o Greaton then from a principle of delicacy requested to withdraw

from the trial, to which the members having assented, it becomes requisite that another officer should be warn'd in his room for some ensuing day, as it is now too late to be done within the hours prescrib'd for the sitting of courts martial in the Articles of War.

With the greatest respect I am, Sir,

Y^r most obed^t serv^t.

ROBERT HOWE.

N. B. No objections were made to any other member.

WILLIAM HEATH TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.

HIGHLANDS, April 18th, 1782.

DEAR GENERAL, — I am honored with yours of the 16th covering copy of a letter from Major General M^cDougall. Lest your Excellency might think I have been unreasonable I beg leave to observe *Necessity* and *Duty compelled me* to arrest Major General M^cDougall and to exhibit charges against him. These I endeavoured to make as specific as is usually practiced in our army. When he demanded the charges being made more particular I informed the D. Judge Advocate that if the charges were not as particular as was usually practiced in the martial courts they should be made so ; if they were, I declined making a precedent, as it might open a door to unnecessary trouble hereafter in the army, but if when the court convened they thought a further specification necessary it should be made, as in such case the precedent would be *theirs*, and not *mine*. As Major General M^cDougall has a right, so have I no objection, to his making such representations to your Excellency respecting the execution of my command as he may think proper. I have only to lament that after a long winter's almost incessant application to a variety of business, some of

which has been of an intricate nature, and in which I have needed the aid and assistance of every officer I have had the honor to command to render my task tolerable; beside the trouble and vexation which has attended me, my health has been impaired for the want of exercise and relaxation, and some private concerns peculiarly interesting to my family have loudly called for a moment's attention; but I have not entertained an idea of absence untill the court on General M^cDougall was over, if it could be accomplished in a reasonable time. I have sacrificed much for my country. I am willing to sacrifice more, and it will be my misfortune if I am called to do it under any particular disadvantages, or with the loss of health.

The arrangement of the captains of the Massachusetts Line has been made under your Excellency's authority and upon the principles prescribed by you to the former board. More than a year agoe you were pleased to order a board for the purpose. Their report, altho given in, had not been published on the 30th of Decem^r last. I represented to your Excellency the uneasiness of the captains, and requested the arrangement might be published if it had received your approbation. In your letter to me of the 8th of January you were pleased to observe, that you had no papers of a late date with you, and pointed me to Col^o Varrick for the arrangment and further observed, "If it appears compleat and such an one as gives satisfaction, I have no objection to its being acted upon." Upon my receiving it I found it was incompleat, as several officers had been promoted, others had resigned, and some had died. This I represented to your Excellency in a letter of the 23rd of Feb^{ry}, and that I had desired the former board, viz^t, general and field officers commanding reg^{ts} in the Line of the State, to compleat the arrangment by puting the whole forward as they stood, closing the intervals occasioned by the

differant casualties, and being so compleated it has been presented to your Excellency.

I have the honor to be, with the highest respect,
Your Excellency's most obed. serv^t.

W. HEATH.

His Excellency General WASHINGTON.

WILLIAM HEATH TO THOMAS EDWARDS.

HIGHLANDS, April 24th, 1782.

DEAR SIR, — I was informed the last evening that the general court martial had determined Colonel Crane should not give evidence before the court on the 5th and 6th charges exhibited against Major General M^cDougall. As Colonel Crane's evidence is the most material of any which can be produced in behalf of the United States in support of those charges, duty constrains me to call on you to move the court this morning to admit his evidence as most essentially necessary, and if it is not admitted, that you enter a formal protest, that it may appear on the proceedings.

I am, with great regard, dear Sir,

Your obed. serv^t.

W. HEATH, *M. General.*

THOMAS EDWARDS, Esq^r, D. Judge Advocate.

WILLIAM HEATH TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.

HIGHLANDS, April 5th, 1782.*

DEAR GENERAL, — I forward two sailors who lately made their escape from the British man of war Adamant, and enclose a New York paper of the 19th, the latest I have received.

* This date is obviously incorrect, and without doubt the indorsement is right. — EDS.

When I was honored by your Excellency the winter before last with a command similar to that you have been pleased now to assign me, your pleasure was signified that I should approve or disapprove the sentences of courts martial, except when the sentences were capital or of a particular nature, which were to be transmitted to you. Apprehending your sentiments are still the same, I have been pursuing the same mode of conduct. I now take the liberty to enclose the proceedings of a general court martial handed to me the last evening, altho the sentence is not a discharge from service, yet from its nature I have thought it most eligible to lay it before your Excellency for your determination.

I have the honor to be, with the highest respect,

Your Excellency's most obed. serv^t.

W. HEATH.

His Excellency General WASHINGTON.

Indorsed: To Gen^l Washington transmitting the proceedings of a court martial on Lieut. Muzzy of the 2 Massa. regiment for determination, and two sailors deserters from the Adamant at New York, April 25, 1782.

WILLIAM HEATH TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.

HIGHLANDS, April 26th, 1782.

DEAR GENERAL, — In obedience to your orders of the 22nd I wrote the contractors on the subject of the salted and damaged provisions, and yesterday received an answer from them which I take the liberty to enclose. I wish to know your pleasure whether Mess^{rs} Sands shall take such of the provisions as are not fit to issue and credit the United States what they may be thought worth or dispose of them and account to the public, or whether they shall be sold at vendue by the quarter master general, the late commissary (altho I believe the commissary is absent), or any other person.

I take the liberty to enclose a letter from Lt. Col^o

Badlam, received p^r the last post. I am still apprehensive that altho Major General Lincoln had fixed Lt. Colonel Badlam at Boston, officers have not been appointed to muster the recruits at the other three places mentioned as rendezvous in the resolve of the General Assembly. As Lt. Colonel Badlam makes no mention of any officers being retained by order of General Lincoln but Ensign Robinson, and he for a limited time only, before I received Lt. Col^o Badlam's letter I had written him on the subject. His answer will determine the matter.

If Lt. Colonel Badlam has not written your Excellency respecting Ensign Robinson's being permitted to continue with him longer, I request a signification of your pleasure on that particular.

I have the honor to be, with the highest respect,

Your Excellency's most obedient serv^t.

W. HEATH.

His Excellency General WASHINGTON.

WILLIAM HEATH TO JOHN HANCOCK.

HIGHLANDS OF NEW YORK, May 3rd, 1782.

DEAR SIR, — I was in hopes long ere this time to have paid my respects personally to you in Boston, but have been disapointed. When I shall have that honor is uncertain. Impressed with the warmest sentiments of friendship which nither time or distance can abate, I cannot omit so favorable an oppertunity as offers by Doc^r Whitwell to express their lively continuance in my breast and my ardent wishes for the honor, health, and happiness of yourself and family. I most heartily congratulate you on the surrender of the whole island of Minorca to the Spanish arms. This fortunate event will tend to lower the pride of Britain and in its consequences

prove advantageous to our cause. Affairs also wear a pleasing aspect in the West Indies. The enemy are in the most painfull anxiety for the fate of their islands. In New York they are encreasing and strengthening their works with great assiduity and are very apprehensive of being arrested in their strongholds the approaching campaign. Whether they will evacuate Charlestown or not is yet uncertain. I am sorry to find the enemy too successful against our trade. Numbers of prizes are almost daily sent into New York.

I hope in a short time to congratulate you on your re-election to the first seat of government, in which, be assured, none will more heartily participate.

Please present my most respectfull compliments to your amiable lady, your little son, whom Heaven preserve, your brother, &c.

I have the honour to be, with the greatest respect & esteem, dear Sir,

Your obedient servant.

W. HEATH.

P. S. Since writing the above I have received a New York paper of the 30th ultimo, which gives an account that the Duke of Cumberland packet, Cap^t Dashwood, arrived at New York last Sunday in six weeks from Falmouth in England, with the March mail. The paper contains some most interesting debates in the two Houses of the British Parliament; in the House of Lords on the 7th of Feb^{ry}, and in the House of Commons on the 27th of the same month. A motion was made in the latter by General Conway for leave to bring in a bill to enable the King to make peace with America. The ministry endeavoured to git rid of the motion by an adjournment, but on a division the ayes were 215, noes 234, a majority of 19. The House immediately, altho half after one, resumed the debate. The ministry finding so great a majority gave up the main question without a division,

and the House adjourned at two. The 28th the Attorney General said he should move for leave to bring in the bill, &c. The whole complection of the debates look very favorable. However, as distrust is the mother of security every exertion should be continued untill a safe and honorable peace is ratified. Then with the highest pleasure and satisfaction will we quit the field to partake with our friends the balmy sweets of domestick life, for which none more ardently wishes than

Yours, as before, W. HEATH.

I would send you the paper, but must transmit it to Head Quarters.

His Excellency Governor HANCOCK.

WILLIAM HEATH TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.*

HIGHLANDS, May 6th, 1782.

In answer to the several questions stated by his Excellency the Commander in Chief to the General Officers April 15th, Major General Heath begs leave to answer for himself as follows :

To Question 1st. Supposing the enemy's force at N. York to be as above, that they retain possession of the harbour, and that they have a naval superiority upon the coast.

Answer. There can be no probability of success in an attempt on New York.

Question 2nd. Supposing the same force, that they keep possession of the harbour, but loose their superiority at sea.

Answer. Success very improbable, if possible, except with *a very great* force, and then attended with much loss.

* Washington's questions to which this letter is an answer are printed in 5 Mass. Hist Coll., vol. iv. pp. 249-252. — Eds.

Question 3rd. That they shall have the same force in the city, but shall loose the command of the water, both in the harbour and at sea.

Answer. In this case their is a probability of success with a suitable force, properly supplied, &c. Against the enemies' present force 25,000 good disciplined troops, not on paper, but actually effective in the field, will be necessary to opperate to advantage and afford a moral certainty of success.

If the enemy's whole force is collected from Charlestown, Savannah, &c, to N. York an army of 33,000 effective men will be necessary to reduce a garrison so numerous as the garrison of New York will in such case be. The country have such a force, but it is difficult in the present embarrassed state of affairs to determine whether they will draw it out in such men as will be absolutely necessary for the purpose. Indeed, I think the probability is against it, unless our generous ally should afford us a very considerable land as well as naval force, or in some other way lend an aid which will more effectually call out the country and command the necessary supplies than it is in the power of the States now to do. Not more than three fourths of the militia commonly called for arrive in camp, and many of those who do are old men and boys, so that little more than half the number called for can be depended upon to form an army of such men as will be absolutely necessary, and I think it would not be safe to depend on a less estimate.

I have the honor to be, with the highest respect,

Your Excellency's most obed. servant.

W. HEATH, *M. General.*

His Excellency General WASHINGTON.

WILLIAM HEATH TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.*

HIGHLANDS, May 7th, 1782.

DEAR GENERAL, — Enclosed are two newspapers which came to hand the last evening. They are the latest I have received.

The day before yesterday about eighty recruits arrived from Massachusetts, in general very indifferant; a number of them negroes, some old men & boys. Among them are also two Frenchmen who confess they were marines on board and deserted from a French frigate in Boston harbour. How Colonel Badlam could muster and forward them I am at a loss to determine. What shall be done with these Frenchmen? —

The boatmen and others on constant hard duty complain that they are reduced to a single ration, which is insufficient to support them on hard duty. Ought they not to receive a ration and half as usual?

Some mutinous intentions have lately been discovered in the Connecticut Line. Three of the supposed principals are confined in the provost at West Point. They will be brought before a general court martial this day; two of them, I am informed, are serjeants.

A very great uneasiness continues among the regimental officers respecting the mode of receiving their provisions. The commissaries will not issue to the field officers except they draw regimentally, as appears by the enclosed from one of them. Similar notes were sent to other field officers. If the officers draw with the men, and the whole of the provisions for a regiment are weighed at one draught, the provisions will not hold out, a suspicion will arise that the officers not only pick out the best peices but receive their full weight, while the deficiency

* Washington's answer is printed in 5 Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. iv. pp. 256, 257. — Eds.

falls on the men. Ought not the provisions according to the usual custom of armies be weighed in as many draughts as there are companies, and will not the service be promoted as well as the field officers gratified in drawing their own provisions and their servants without arms by themselves?

I am informed that the contractors require from each regiment a return specifying the number of men present, and also of those absent; by this means the clerks in the commissaries' store will have the most accurate knowledge of the whole strength of the army present, on command, sick, &c, which I think ought to be known by the Commander in Chief only. Too much care cannot be taken to prevent impositions in the provision returns, but is it not too dangerous for a clerk in a store to be possessed of accurate returns of the strength of the army? I beg leave to submit it to your Excellency's consideration.

Doc^r Townshend informed me yesterday that he had received a signification of your pleasure through Doc^r Craik to put a stop to inoculation. I have mentioned it in the orders of this day. I am apprehensive that there may be infection in some of the quarters; have directed when it is probable, that the men who have not had the small pox be put in tents as near their respective corps as may be safe. If your Excellency does not approve of this mode, such other shall be adopted as you may think proper.

I have the honor to be, with the greatest respect,

Your Excellency's most obed. serv^t.

W. HEATH.

P. S. Col^o Swift has this moment called at my quarters and shewn me your letter to him of yesterday respecting the mutineers, &c. A soldier belonging to one of the Connecticut regiments some time since transferred to the

corps of invalids being recovered, Colonel Swift wishes he may be returned to the regiment to which he formerly belonged. Is it admissible?

His Excellency General WASHINGTON.

WILLIAM HEATH TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.*

HIGHLANDS, May 10th, 1782.

DEAR GENERAL, — I was the last evening honored with yours of the 8th.

As your Excellency by your letters of January last committed the care and direction of the recruiting service in the Eastern States to General Lincoln, Huntington, Col^o Olney, &c, I have never had any official knowledge of the regulations which have been established or what methods have been pursued, nor have I ever written to the authorities of the respective States on that subject or received a line from either of them, supposing that those who were particularly interested with the business would take such measures as the importance of the object required. From transient reports which I have heard I have felt an anxiety that matters were not in that regular way I could wish, which I took the liberty to hint to your Excellency, and enclosed some letters I had received from Cap^t Banister.

In yours of the 18th of April with which I was honored your Excellency seemd to be of opinion that General Lincoln had not made omission in any part of so important a service, but advised me to write to Col^o Badlam on the subject. I accordingly wrote on the 22nd of the same month. I expected to have heard from him by the last post, but did not. I wrote him again this week respecting the party of recruits which he had sent on,

* Washington's answer is printed in 5 Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. iv. pp. 258, 259. — Eds.

that such *stuff*, for I could not call them neither *men* or *soldiers*, could be of no benefit to the service.

As Lt. Colonel Badlam was fixed at Boston and instructed by General Lincoln who was authorized by your Excellency for that purpose, I doubt the propriety of my calling him away. If you should think proper to order him on another field officer could be sent, and I think the service will be promoted by sending one to Springfield. Cap^t Banister continues there at present, and I believe transacts the business with fidelity, but the committee men and others who hire the men are so importunate with the superintendants to get such passed as they present that very great resolution and decision are necessary to stem impositions. I think it will be necessary also from the tenor of the resolution of the Commonwealth to have an officer (a cap^t) at Worcester and another at Wells, and that five or six subalterns should be immediately sent from the army to march on the recruits. This I beg leave to submit to your Excellency's consideration.

I am sorry to hear that the difficulties complained of in the issues of provisions are in the contract. The uneasiness of the army is very great, and cannot fail to prove injurious to the service. Enclosed is a letter which I received yesterday from Lt. Col^o Fernald, in which he requests me to represent the matter to your Excellency.

I think the contractors' weighing the provisions to regiments in one or as few draughts as possible is really injurious. It is not practised in any service. This mode was adopted by them early in the winter, but by a peremptory order I obliged them to weigh in as many draughts as there were companies. Colonel Swift informed me yesterday that the Connecticut Line meet with great difficulty in obtaining their provisions. Sometimes they draw at West Point and sometimes at the

landing below their cantonment, nor do they know certainly where they are to draw untill they send to see. This uncertainty occasions delay, inconvenience, and irregularity.

Another detachment of recruits called here this morning on their way to Philadelphia for the Rhode Island reg^t. The whole of those I have seen for that reg^t are as fine fellows as ever I saw, neither old countrymen, negroes, old men or boys among them.

I know not what can be done with the two French deserters unless they are sent on to Philadelphia by some party going on, if it should meet your approbation.

I have the honor to be, with the highest respect,

Your Excellency's most obed. serv^t.

W. HEATH.

His Excellency Gen^l WASHINGTON.

WILLIAM HEATH TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.*

HIGHLANDS, June 19th, 1782.

DEAR GENERAL, — Cap^t Williams, Brigade Major of the 2nd Massachusetts brigade, has been tried at a general court martial for not furnishing a detail laid on the brigade by the D. A. G., has been acquitted by the court, and the judgment approved by your Excellency. This has been done in consequence of Colonel Putnam, commandant of the brigade forbidding Cap^t Williams furnishing the detail. Colonel Putnam consequently stands answerable for countermanding the order. I am informed he will attempt [to] justify his conduct on a pretence that it was not known how far my command extended, and that I had not a right to order the detail. From your Excellency's order of the 4th of April I apprehended a doubt could not exist. The order of the 9th instant

* Washington's answer is printed in 5 Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. iv. pp. 266, 267. — Eds.

is expressed in a manner which seems to imply a doubt. It is certainly wounding discipline to have an order openly oppugned with impunity; on the other hand it will be a loss of time and much trouble to arrest and try if there is not a basis to support the trial, and it should finally be supposed that my command was not made sufficiently explicit. I am well aware of the delicacy of the case and an opinion being given thereon. I therefore only request your Excellency's opinion whether from the several circumstances it be advisable to have the matter prosecuted or dropt. I have no doubt in my own mind; but from the expression of the order of the 9th instant if there is no doubt as to my command the matter is clear; if there is, my situation has been unfortunate, for if I could not issue the disputed order, I do not see that I could issue any orders with propriety.

I have the honor to be, with the greatest respect, your Excellency's most obed. serv^t.

W. HEATH.

His Excellency General WASHINGTON.

JOHN GREATON* TO WILLIAM HEATH.

DOBBS FERRY, June 21st, 1782.

DEAR GEN^l, — I received yours of the 17th instant, am much oblig'd to you for the care & attention you have taken on the subject of my promotion. I acknowledge myself under renewed obligations. I am exceeding happy that his Excellency is easey without another officer being sent to relieve Col^l Hull. I think that two field

* John Greateon was born in Roxbury, March 10, 1741, and before the war was a trader. In 1775 he was major and lieutenant-colonel in Heath's regiment, and in the same year was made colonel of the 24th regiment. He served throughout the war, and in January, 1783, he was commissioned a brigadier-general. In October he returned home on account of sickness, and on the 16th of the following December died at Roxbury. See Bugbee's *Memorials of the Mass. Society of the Cincinnati*, pp. 223, 224. — EDS.

officers is little enough at this post, one to attend the dessionline of the troops, the other to flaggs, &c. The duty hear is considerable hard. I have but about one hundred men present fit for duty (a grand command indeed). If I had my proper command this place would be very agreeable. I sent Cap^t Tisdale the day before yesterday on a scout. I ordered him down as far as Fort Lee. He will return this evening, am in hopes he will bring me some news. I have not been able to get any since my arrival at this place.

I had the pleasure of seeing Mr Loring the day before yesterday; he came up with a flagg respecting the exchange of prisoners L^t Holdridge brought down. He could not look me in the face; Mr Skinner & all the officers that were present took notice of it. He ask'd after you, his Uncle Felton & family, & a number of others. He said, he wished the war could be settled between [Great] Britain & America, & that we could live on[ce] more in peace together again. Inclos'd you have a paper of the 17th, the only one I have been able to get since my arrival hear. Any intelligence that I shall get will transmit to you as soon as possible. I should be happy to hear from you every oppertunity.

I am, dear General, yours sincerely.

J. GREATON.

WILLIAM HEATH TO BENJAMIN LINCOLN.

HIGHLANDS, July 24th, 1782.

DEAR SIR, — In my other letter I mention that desertions are too frequent in our army. I assure you it is become a serious affair. They are every day encreasing. I have this moment a report of a very steady serjeant, corporal, and three men going off from the 5th Massachusetts regiment. Desertions are as frequent in the Connecticut Line; ten or a dozen have gone from that

Line within these few days past. Those who desert are almost entirely of the old soldiers who are for the war, and unless some means are speedily devised to relieve them I fear the desertion will encrease among that class. The recruits are daily coming up with their two or three hundred dollars p^r man, and to serve only three years. These lads who have endured every thing from the beginning look upon themselves as chained down for life. Their past wages they have received in depreciation notes; these they sell to sharpers for five and six shillings upon the pound, and pay that for the articles they buy [at?] the enhanced prizes of the day, consequently realize but a trifle. They receive no pay. Many of them have wives and children at home. The State, I am told, have discontinued the resolution for supplying the soldiers' families. All these considerations strike the minds of the soldiers powerfully, and almost drive them to despair. Their services being secured, they reason that the public think but little about them, while they are lavishing their wealth on recruits for short periods of service. They will not desert to the enemy, but to their homes, to Vermont, &c. You, my dear Sir, know the worth of these veterans. They are certainly without exception some of the best soldiers in the world. I request you to give their situation and condition a few moments' consideration in your just scale of thinking and endeavours to obtain them some relief of pay, if possible, which would tend to alleviate their present distresses, or, I assure you, I dread the consequences which I am convinced will be the encrease of desertions among the old soldiers. Writing to you in confidence I write freely. You will read my letters when more important business does not call for your attention.

I have the honor to be, very respectfully,

Your affectionate, humble serv^t.

Gen^l LINCOLN.

W. HEATH.

WILLIAM HEATH TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.

HIGHLANDS, July 28th, 1782.

DEAR GENERAL, — I was honored with yours of the 11th, and have endeavoured to discharge the trust reposed in me. Enclosed your Excellency will find the proceedings of a general court martial on L^t Colonel Badlam of the 8th Massachusetts reg^t, and L^t Lamont of the invalid reg^t. Many other sentences I have passed upon; these extending to dismissal from the service I have thought it my duty to lay before your Excellency.

A number of officers have been long detained on the general court martial for the trial of Major General M^cDougall, and some who had urgent calls to make short visits to their families have been prevented. General Paterson has applied for leave of absence for ten or twelve days; L^t Colonel Smith, who early and repeatedly expressed the necessity of his going home, has also been disappointed. He wishes for four or five weeks' absence if consistent with the service. I beg leave to submit their applications to your Excellency's consideration. Nothing very remarkable has taken place during your absence. Desertions of soldiers engaged for the war continue, or have rather encreased. A steady old serjeant, corporal, and three men have gone off from the 5th Massachusetts reg^t. Some of them have families; it is thought they have gone to them, and that the service would be promoted by sending an officer after these and others. I have thought it might be attended with good consequences, for unless something is done to bring the deserters back, others will be prompted to follow them. There are officers who would go, but decline doing it unless their expenses are borne. This I have no authority

to promise, have therefore delayed the matter until your return.

It has been found that the light infantry in the course of their duty on the lines and laying out greatly injure their heavy cloathing. I therefore requested Mr Brooks, the Assistant Clothier, to issue frocks to the five companies which last marched to the lines. I ask your Excellency's candour for giving this order which was from the necessity of the case, and I will hope will meet your approbation. The service would be greatly promoted if all the troops could now receive their summer cloathing; if there is not a sufficiency for the whole, as the light infantry are most exposed to long and dusty marches their being supplied will be equal, as it respects all the corps, and comfortable and convenient to the men. Some small parties of very good recruits have arrived from Massachusetts. There have been several desertions from the enemy.

The contractors for West Point and its dependencies have applied for a survey of the provisions designed for the reserves agreeable to the tenor of the contract, the United States being to guarantee them during the months of July, August, and September, if they are in good condition. I have appointed a survey for the purpose with instructions. Their report, when handed in, shall be laid before your Excellency.

Several tents in the 2nd Massachusetts reg^t lately took fire by accident, by which several articles of cloathing, some arms and accoutrements, were lost. The commanding officer has applied to have the cloathing replaced. As your return was hourly expected, I have waved giving an order for this extra allowance of cloathing until you arrived.

Major General Knox has thought it necessary to send two brass field pieces to the northward to replace the two now there which are out of repair, together with

some ammunition, &c. I have approved the measure. A better state of affairs in that quarter your Excellency will probably have than is in my power to communicate.

The troops at West Point are at present much pinched for provisions; the contractors plead the embarrassments they labor under in not being supplied with money.

I have the honor to be, with the greatest respect,

Your Excellency's most obed^t serv^t.

W. HEATH.

P. S. The proceedings of the court martial on Cap^t L^t Freeman being just handed to me I have enclosed them.

His Excellency General WASHINGTON.

WILLIAM HEATH TO JOHN HANCOCK.

HIGHLANDS OF NEW YORK, Augst 14th, 1782.

SIR, — Before this reaches your Excellency you will probably have heard of the prospect of an approaching accommodation among the belligerent powers, and from the newspapers or handbills have seen how far matters had advanced when the last intelligence was received from Europe. *The terms which are hinted, if acceded to, are not, I think, disadvantageous to America, and if peace is now obtained, America will secure her liberties and independence by a shorter contest than any nation who struggled for them before her. The refugees in New York are in fits of despair; they are rending the facings from their uniforms, plucking out their cockades, and uttering execrations. Sir Guy Carleton is striving to calm them, and persuading them to suspend their opinion for the present, and to continue stedfast in their loyalty. I think their fate may be pretty easily developed. They have merited it. When I reflect on the present prospects, and glance my ideas to what will probably be the future

greatness of this rising empire (the wonder of the world) I am lost in a transport of joy. Such, I think, you feel in your own breast, altho you and I can only view them in idea, and feel the high satisfaction that we had a hand in laying the foundation of the structure under many fatigues and dangers, and that posterity will enjoy its splendor; but I call back my pen from this pleasing digression of prospects to our present state. The enemy are yet in our country; they must be withdrawn or vanquished; there should be no relaxation on our part untill the one or the other takes place and a peace is fully ratified. The surest way to treat with the enemy is sword in hand, and the best way to keep him in his senses is to continue to apply to him those means which brought him to them.

I hope you enjoy your health. I wish for the time when I shall have the pleasure of takeing you by the hand and paying you my respects in Boston. Please present my compliments to your lady and all friends. I have the honor to be, with the warmest attachment & esteem,

Your Excellency's most obed^t serv^t.

W. HEATH.

His Excellency Governor HANCOCK.

WILLIAM HEATH TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.*

ROXBURY, Novem^r 29th, 1782.

DEAR GENERAL, — A cartel has just arrived at Boston from Quebec, and has brought a number of American prisoners. There are among them several officers and about twenty soldiers who were inlisted to serve during the war. I have directed Lt. Colonel Popkin to forward the latter on to the army, to receive your Excellency's

* Washington's answer is printed in 5 Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. iv. pp. 277, 278. — EDS.

further orders. They principally belong to Connecticut and New York; they are in extreme want of a pair of shoes each, and without them cannot proceed on their march. I am in hopes the shoes will be in some way obtained. As the officers I have seen are under parole I have not been able to get any intelligence of consequence from them.

A brig has lately arrived from Spain; the master reports that the British fleet had releived Gibraltar and returned; that severael of the Spanish floating batteries or gunboats had been destroyed by hot shot from the enemies' batteries before the arrival of the British fleet, and many men lost in them; that one Spanish man of war of 74 guns was taken by the enemy, and another run on shore. The brig passed through the combined fleet going into the Bay of Cadiz as she came out. This news is probably true. The misfortunes of our friends are to be lamented, but I hope his Catholick Majesty will now give up his long persisted in project of reducing a post where there has scarcely been a shadow of success, and yet the whole Spanish force, both land and naval, have been constantly employed in the fruitless attempt, and without making any considerable diversion of the force of Britain. Had the force of Spain been employed with that of France against the common enemy in those places vulnerable great advantage might have accrued to the common cause, and Gibraltar might have been conquered in another quarter.

The Marquis Vaudreuil's squadron are nearly fitted for sea, except the ship at Portsmouth which was injured by the lighting. The artillery of the French army has been embarked on board the fleet some days, and the army is to march from Providence for Boston on Sunday morning next.

Should anything of consequence transpire while I am in this quarter both inclination and duty will prompt

me to give your Excellency the earliest intimations of it.

I have the honor to be, with the greatest respect and warmest attachment,

Your Excellency's most obedient servant.

W. HEATH.

His Excellency General WASHINGTON.

P. S. Daniel Parker, Esq^r, of this State with some other gentlemen have contracted to supply the army with provisions the next year. I have been many years acquainted with Mr. Parker, and from his disposition, abilities, and attention I think the army may promise themselves everything they may reasonably wish under this contract.

W. H.

WILLIAM HEATH TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.

NEWBURGH, April 17, 1783.

DEAR GENERAL, — Your Excellency having been pleased to call for my sentiments on the subject of such military institutions as may be requisite for the interior defence of these States on a peace establishment, permit me to submit the following. —

As the future defence and peaceable enjoyment of those invaluable rights and liberties, so dearly rescued from the jaws of tyranny, will, under Heaven, rest on the discipline of our armies, either of a permanent nature or well regulated militia, too much attention cannot possibly be paid to the object. From a variety of circumstances, which it is needless to enumerate to your Excellency, it appears to me, that the safety of these States would be most effectually secured by a standing force of completely organized corps, consisting of such numbers as the infancy of our rising empire, under its load of debt, could maintain; these to be posted in such parts of the

States as might be best situated for their support, and nearest those avenues to our country most likely to be seized by the enemy, should they at any future period aim a sudden blow: these avenues both on the water-side and inland frontiers are better known to your Excellency than to me, — many of them are very important posts, and if left unguarded, might be easily seized by the enemy, and if seized, give them an easy access into the bowels of our country. An established national force posted at such important places would not only secure them, but also establish a force which on any emergency might be augmented by recruits to such numbers as the exigency should require. But, from the present genius and disposition of our countrymen, I have but little expectation of seeing such an establishment take place; perhaps, at some future period it may be deemed requisite by the country. Permit me then to take the matter up on a less scale, and at the same time in such a train as may promise salutary advantages, although not adequate to what real safety requires. This shall be considered as the nerves and sinews of an army, and be effected as follows: *first*, By laying the foundation for the study and improvement of the science of war, and *secondly*, By preserving our present attainments in the mechanical parts of it: for the art of war undoubtedly is what the Chevalier Folard justly calls it, “a trade for the ignorant, a science for men of genius.” The latter may be improved and extended by the establishment of military academies in such districts as may be thought proper, in which shall be taught the mathematics, gunnery, engineering and tactics, lectures delivered on the sublime parts of war, &c. The former preserved by retaining and establishing a few corps in the respective States, or districts, of troops of the different denominations of cavalry, artillery, and infantry; these may be stationed at such posts as require garrisons, where they

will not only serve as guards to the public stores, but also preserve a uniformity of discipline in different parts of the United States, and, in case an augmentation should become necessary, afford able instructors to drill and form the recruits. This attention should extend to the music, which require time and attention to acquire a proper proficiency in the knowledge of their duty. Corps of this kind would not only preserve a relict of our present excellent discipline, and be the basis of an army in case of emergency in any of the States, but serve also as a pattern and model for the numerous militia of our country, who would be ambitious to imitate them. If neither of the foregoing can take place, dependence must be placed on the militia; and in such case much must be done to regulate and establish discipline in their numerous and unwieldy bodies. This probably will be attempted by the legislatures of the respective States; but it will be essential that a uniformity be observed in the great principles of discipline and manœuvres, in arms and equipments, that if drawn together from different States they may be capable of acting together. These are my first thoughts on a subject which is almost without brink or bottom, and I pray your Excellency's candor while I humbly submit them.

I have the honor to be,

Your Excellency's most obedient servant.

W. HEATH.

His Excellency General WASHINGTON.

WILLIAM HEATH TO JOHN HANCOCK.

NEWBURGH, April 18th, 1783.

MY DEAR SIR,—I arrived here on the 15th instant after a fatiguing journey. It gave me inexpressible pleasure and satisfaction on my journey from Boston

untill I had passed through Massachusetts to find your interest so warmly and well supported in every town on the road except Wilbraham, where there was said to be a majority of votes in favor of Colonel Worthington; in several of the towns you had every vote. I learn that the County of Berkshire are divided; in some towns you have a majority of votes, in others you have not. Upon the whole, I believe, you will not have any great fear from that quarter, and in other parts of the State have a majority that will be pleasing to your friends, in which be assured none will feel more satisfaction than myself. It has been hinted since I left Boston that if you were chosen Governor you would resign. Whether there are any grounds for this or not, I cannot say, but if you have thoughts of it I pray you to wave them. To resign would be to gratify many of your opposers and grieve your friends. You have yet many of the latter, and warmly attached to your interests.

Congress have published a proclamation forbidding hostilities. No part of the British troops are withdrawn from New York, and Sir Guy Carleton does not appear at present to be in any great hurry about it. His first object seems to be to secure and send off the refugees.

Please present my respectful compliments to Mrs. Hancock, your son, &c. I have the honor to be, with the warmest attachment, my dear Sir,

Your obed^t serv^t.

W. HEATH.

His Excellency Governor HANCOCK.

JOHN HANCOCK TO WILLIAM HEATH.

Boston, May 24, 1783.

MY DEAR SIR,—I had the pleasure of your fav^r by Cap^t Mills, and feel myself greatly oblig'd by your partic-

ular notice of me. Your very kind expressions of friendship claim my warmest thanks. I sincerely congratulate you on the present happy aspect of our affairs. You, my friend, have contributed largely towards the completion of our wishes, and now that peace has return'd I hope you will long live to participate the blessings of it.

Inclos'd you will find the several papers refer'd to in your public letter; the certificates are in the letters to Gen^l Lincoln, which you will please to forward.*

I wish much for the time when we can meet & talk over the scenes we have gone thro' in the first introduction of this contest & realize the consequences of your & our exertions, & hope it is not far distant.

I am oblig'd to close, can only add that my best wishes attend you for every enjoyment, & that I am with perfect esteem,

Your very hum. serv^t.

JOHN HANCOCK.

Hon^l Major General HEATH, &c.

WILLIAM HEATH TO JOHN HANCOCK.

NEWBURGH, May 13th, 1783.

MY DEAR SIR, — I have been honored with your very polite letter of the 2nd instant, am much obliged by your expressions of friendship and good wishes. The letters addressed to General Lincoln have been forwarded. I wish for the time when I shall have the pleasure of seeing you in Boston in the character of a citizen, that we may review and converse on the various scenes and occurrences that have happened since the first resolutions were formed to espouse and defend the cause of our country, in which you, my honored friend, stood one of

* General Heath wrote two letters to Governor Hancock (April 18 and April 19) asking for warrants for officers in the Massachusetts regiments who had been promoted. — Eds.

the first. I hope the time is not far distant, and no one can feel more anxious than I do for its arrival.

We are waiting for the arrival of the definitive treaty. It is said the Emperor of Germany and Empress of Russia who offered their mediation to the belligerent powers are complimented to sign the treaty, and that probably four or five weeks may elapse before the treaty is received here. It is said there are no obstructions in the way, and that the above circumstance only causes the delay. When the definitive treaty is received here there will be the greatest demonstrations of joy, and exhibited in as great variety perhaps as has been known on any occasion. Great preparations have been for some time making. I wish we could be honored with your presence. Some are talking of coming from Philadelphia, New York, &c.

General Washington and General Sir Guy Carleton have lately had an interview at Dobbs Ferry on some particular subjects. Sir Guy declares his intention to withdraw the troops as soon as it can be effected, but he has so many refugees to remove that it will take some time to get the whole away.

It is said that a gentleman of character in England has written to his friend in New York that after every exertion to obtain relief for the Loyalists they have been ineffectual, and that it will be left to Sir Guy Carleton to do the best for them in his power, that nothing now can be expected. Thus are those despicable wretches left in a situation the most folorn. Dispised by all, they are chagrined beyond discription.

You will have heard of the change of the British ministry before this reaches you.

Please present my most respectfull compliments to Mrs. Hancock, your son, and all friends. I have the honor to be, with the most perfect attachment, my dear Sir,

Your most obed. serv^t.

W. HEATH.

His Excellency Governor HANCOCK.

GEORGE WASHINGTON TO WILLIAM HEATH.*

HEAD QUARTERS, 24th June, 1783.

(Private.)

DEAR SIR, — Previous to your departure from the army I wish to take an opportunity of expressing my sentiments of your services, my obligations for your assistance, & my wishes for your future felicity.

Our object is at last attained; the arrangements are almost compleated; and the day of separation is now at hand. Permit me therefore to thank you for the trouble you have lately taken in the arrangement of the corps under your orders, as well as for all your former chearful and able exertions in the public service. Suffer me to offer this last testimony of my regard to your merits, and give me leave, my dear Sir, to assure you of the real affection and esteem with which I am, and shall at all times and under all circumstances continue to be

Y^r sincere friend, and very h^{ble} servant.G^o WASHINGTON.Maj^r. Gen^l HEATH.

A true copy from the original, which is in the General's own handwriting.

WILLIAM HEATH TO ELIPHALET PORTER.†

ROXBURY, Augst 4th, 1788.

REVEREND SIR, — *Instrumental musick* was yesterday introduced into divine worship in the meetinghouse of the

* This letter is also printed in Heath's Memoirs, pp. 385, 386. The original is not among the Heath Papers. — Eds.

† In the manuscript memoirs of Rev. Dr. John Pierce, of Brookline, in the possession of this Society, is a very characteristic sketch of Rev. Dr. Porter, which may properly find a place here. Dr. Pierce writes, under date of December, 1833: "On Saturday, 7 December, at xi^¼ in the evening, died of peripneumony, in Roxbury, the Rev. Eliphalet Porter, D. D., pastor of the First Church there, aged 75 years, 5 months, and 29 days. On Wednesday, at II P. M., his funeral was attended from his meetinghouse. An immense concourse

First Church and Congregation of this town, and altho' for myself I am fully of opinion that the use of instru-

assembled. A procession was formed from the dwellinghouse of the deceased. The exercises began with a voluntary on the organ. A hymn was then sung. Dr. Lowell read passages from Scripture, and offered a very appropriate prayer of 20 minutes. Rev. George Putnam, colleague of Dr. Porter, delivered a very judicious discourse of 40 minutes, from Gen. xxv. 8, 'Then Abraham gave up the ghost, and died in a good old age, an old man, and full of years, and was gathered to his people.' So just and discriminating was he in giving the character of Dr. Porter, that they who best knew him and were best qualified to judge remarked that they should not desire the alteration, addition, or suppression of a single word.

"Dr. Porter was born in what is now called North Bridgewater, on 11 June, 1758, the son of the Rev. John Porter, a native of Abington, who was ordained 15 October, 1740, and died 12 March, 1802, æt. 87. Dr. Porter sustained a highly respectable rank as a scholar in the class of 1777 at Harvard University, the youngest of three brothers in the same class. He was ordained at Roxbury 2 Oct., 1782, with considerable opposition from some of the first families. Dr. Williams joined the Episcopal Church. He showed a virulent opposition to Dr. P. till on arriving at his 70th year he made a dinner, and invited Dr. Porter for the first time to his house. Captain Joseph Williams, another principal opposer, was won over by a funeral sermon delivered by Dr. Porter on the death of some members of the family at Baltimore.

"When politics raged Dr. P. incurred censure from Gen. Heath, E. Seaver, Esq., and several of their numerous partisans, by his freedom of discussing political subjects. After party rage in politics in a measure subsided, Dr. P. was holden in estimation by his people in general. At length infirmities of age becoming more apparent to some of his parishioners than to himself, after a frank discussion, the people proposed to him a colleague, to which measure he readily assented. Providence kindly provided for them the Rev. George Putnam, who has thus far more than answered the sanguine expectations of his people, and uniformly received the cordial approbation of his venerable colleague.

"Dr. Porter was beneath the common stature, straight, and well proportioned. His hair, which was of chesnut colour, was little if any changed at his death. Neither he nor his father ever used spectacles! Till the latter part of his life he was subject to frequent returns of sick headache. In mixed company he was taciturn to an uncommon degree. When he uttered any thing, it was obvious that it was in words fitly spoken. With familiar friends he could unbend and converse freely, yet with such habitual caution as often to occasion the remark that should his most familiar associates become his enemies they would find it difficult, indeed, to use against him any imprudencies of expression. When religious disputes were started he had a remarkable faculty of discerning points of difference, of allowing to each controversialist his proper merit, and of bringing the subject to an amicable decision.

"He was a highly valued member of the Overseers of Harvard University, and from 1818 of the Corporation. He was treasurer for many years of the Massachusetts Congregational Charitable Society, whose funds are appropriated to the support of ministers' widows and orphans. In this trust he gave great satisfaction. He was an original trustee of the Bible Society of Massachusetts, founded in 1809. He was among the founders of the Society for the Suppression of Intemperance. For many years he was moderator of the Boston Association, by whom he was greatly valued for judicious counsel.

"Three or four years ago he suffered greatly from an enlargement of the prostate gland. Since this, it has been obvious to his friends that he was gradually sinking. Such was the precision with which he transacted business that he subjected himself to the imputation of closeness from persons who were not men of their word, or who from any cause judged that he ought to relax in their favour the rules of strict justice. He was, however, noted for charity to the poor; and to every good work he was always ready.

"As a preacher he was not in the common acceptation of the term popular. He, however,

mental musick in divine worship may be vindicated both from *Scripture* and *reason*, yet I conceive that for obvious reasons it ought not to be introduced without the consent and approbation of the Church. As I have not heard that either have been *requested* or *obtained*, I cannot refrain from addressing you on the subject. If the young gentlemen who favor the Congregation by leading the singing introduced instrumental musick of their own motion, I think it was going *too far* and invading the rights of the Church. Nor can I persuade myself to believe that *any individuals* would advise to the measure untill the sense of the Church was known, as this would be arrogating to themselves a power which I presume no individuals have a right to exercise in the Church. Permit me therefore to request (for the satisfaction of my own mind) to be informed how and in what manner the introduction mentioned took place. While it is my ardent desire not only to join, but also to encourage every thing which may tend to the furtherance of publick devotion, I wish to see every thing conducted decently and in order.

I am, Reverend Sir, with great regard & esteem,
Your obed^t serv^t.

W. HEATH.

Rev^d ELIPHLAT PORTER.

wrote his sermons in a plain and logical style, and delivered them with unusual distinctness. Deaf people could hear him better than almost any other man. He composed his discourses with great labour; and he often repeated them to his people. His devotional services were highly appropriate, though but little varied. For myself I must say that I deplore his departure as the loss of a highly valued counsellor and friend. In 1807 he received the degree of D.D. from Harvard University.

"List of his publications: Thanksgiving Discourse on the Peace, 1783; Discourse to the Roxbury Charitable Society, 1794; Fast Discourse, 1798; Sermon on the Death of Gov. Sumner, 1799; Eulogy on Washington, 1800; Discourse before the Humane Society, 1802; Sermon at the Ordination of Rev. Chs. Lowell, 1 Jan., 1806; Before Society for propagating the Gospel, 5 Nov. 1807; Convention Sermon, 31 May, 1810; Artillery Election Sermon, 1 June, 1812; Sermon, Ordination Rev. J. G. Palfrey, 17 June, 1818.

"During the 3½ years he had a colleague he preached but 11 sermons, one 2 Oct., 1832, a half century sermon.

"The last time he preached at Brookline was 28 March, 1830, æt. 72, lacking 44 days."—Eds.

WILLIAM HEATH TO JOHN ADAMS.

ROXBURY, April 10th, 1797.

SIR, — After public bodies and more elevated citizens, be pleased to accept the congratulations of an old Republican on your advancement to the Presidential chair of the United States of America.

In a letter which you did me the honor to write me dated at Philadelphia, April 15th, 1776,* you were pleased to observe, "Altho I never had the pleasure and the honour of so intimate an acquaintance with you as I wished, yet I have a long time been sufficiently acquainted with your character to have the utmost confidence in your patriotism and your judgment of the true interest of our country." Whatever grounds, Sir, you had for such an opinion of me, with equal sincerity and better grounds, I express myself to you in the same sentiments, and most heartily congratulate you and my country on your advancement to be her first majestrate.

You are called, Sir, to guide the affairs of the States at a time critical and difficult, but by no means desperate, and for one I rest fully satisfied that your knowledge of mankind, love for your native country, and clear discernment of what is for her true interest will enable you to lead your fellow citizens in that path under the guidance of Heaven which will be honorary to yourself and acceptable to the multitude of your brethren.

To be at peace, if it be possible, with all the world, to obtain right by fair negotiation rather than by the sword, to treat all with justice and civility, to give those the first seats who prove themselves our best friends, but to avoid being under the influence or controul of any, to honour

* Printed in 7 Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. iv. pp. 9, 10. — Eds.

ourselves by loving our own country, to be united in this love, and in an invariable support of the Constitutions and the laws, and in the practise of the public and private virtues — will not fail to render the United States that great and flourishing people which Providence seems to have designed them to be. That you, Sir, will be an instrument of contributeing largely to this I am fully confident, and you may rest assured that you will have the *mite* of an old man in private life, added to the able exertions of united America, in support of your endeavours to serve your country.

With every wish for your health and an administration prosperous to yourself and your country,

I have the honor to be, most respectfully, Sir,

Your most humble servant.

W. HEATH.

His Excellency JOHN ADAMS.

WILLIAM HEATH TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.

ROXBURY, April 17th, 1797.

SIR, — When you first ascended the highest seat in the government of the United States, I could not but address you on an event so auspicious to our country. Perhaps you might then think that I was pressing myself into notice or seeking for a place. But be assured, my honorable friend, that my heart is now as much attached to you on your retreat from public life as when you commenced a career which from experience, I knew would be advantageous to your country.

The present situation of the United States is critical and embarrassing, but it is presumed that the wisdom of her government is sufficient to extricate her, with the blessing of Heaven, from her difficulties without either the shedding of blood or prostituting of honour.

I am now arrived at threescore years of age, and I know that my glass is nearly run. I am looking back on those scenes through which I have been called to pass, and frequently turn over the numerous orders which I had the honor to receive from you when under your immediate command, and the manner in which they were executed.

From the commencement of the American war to this time I have kept a daily journal, now swelled to some thousand pages. From this journal I am now writing *Memoirs*, containing anecdotes, details of skirmishes, battles, and other military events during the war. This with the public and private business incumbent on me engrosses my time.

Heaven only knows whether I shall ever have another opportunity or have the honour of again writing to you; be that as it may, my ardent wishes for your health and happiness will follow you in your retirement, and be commensurate with my existence in life.

I pray you be pleased to present my best respects to your amiable lady, with every wish a grateful heart can express for her health and prosperity.

And now, my great and honoured friend, may that kind Providence which has so often shielded you when in danger still hold you in his holy keeping, guild the evening of your days with every necessary comfort and consolation for many years to come, and at last receive you to the everlasting rewards of the faithful.

I have the honor to be, with every sentiment of respect, Sir,

Your most humble servant.

W. HEATH.

GEORGE WASHINGTON, Esq^r.

JOHN ADAMS TO WILLIAM HEATH.

PHILADELPHIA, April 19, 1797.

SIR, — I have rec^d the letter you did me the honour to write me on the tenth of this month.

The date of this letter reminds me that it is two and twenty years since our final separation from Britain, and my letter which you quote recalls old times and scenes to remembrance.

I thank you, Sir, for your kind congratulations on my advancement.

The times appear not to me so critical and difficult as they did on the 19 Ap., 1775, but they are not without their dangers. Although peace be very desirable, and should be cultivated with zeal, there is such a thing as a just and necessary war sometimes, let the Quakers say what they will. If we have a war, it will be forced upon us, much against our inclinations, but I know not that we need tremble before any nation at a thousand leagues distance in a just cause.

With great esteem, I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your most obedient and humble servant.

JOHN ADAMS.

Major General HEATH.

APPENDIX.

EXTRACTS FROM GENERAL HEATH'S ORDERLY BOOK.

HEAD QUARTERS, HIGHLANDS, Feb^y 6, 1782.

The following are extracts from the Orders of his Excellency, the Commander in Chief . . .

"HEAD QUARTERS, PHILADELPHIA, Jan^y 29, 1782.

"A general court martial for the trial of Major General McDougall on sundry charges exhibited by Major General Heath will assemble at West-point as soon as possible. Major General Lord Stirling is appointed president. The deputy adjutant general of the eastern army will detail the members.

"EDW^d HAND, A. G'."

As soon as Major General Lord Stirling arrives at this post the members of the court will be named, and the place of the court's sitting pointed out.

HEAD QUARTERS, HIGHLANDS, Feb^y 13, 1782.

"HEAD QUARTERS, Jan^y 29, 1782.

"The general court martial for the trial of Major General McDougall may be holden at Westpoint, or some convenient place in its vicinity.

"Extract from General Orders.

"EDW^d HAND, A. Gen'."

The general court martial whereof Major General Lord Stirling is president appointed for the trial of Major General McDougall is to sit at M^r Cooper's tavern in Fishkill on Monday next, the 18th of this instant February at ten o'clock, A. M. Brigadiers General James Clinton and Paterson, Colonels Shepard, Swift, Putnam, H. Jackson, and Butler, Lieuten-

ant Colonels Commandant Smith and Sherman, Lieutenant Colonel Grosvenor, Majors Throop and Spurr will attend as members. All evidences and persons concerned to attend the court.

HEAD QUARTERS, HIGHLANDS, Feb'y 17.

Lieutenant Colonel Huntington is appointed a member of the general court martial of which Major General Lord Stirling is president in the room of Colonel Butler.

"HEAD QUARTERS, NEWBURGH, April 7, 1782.

"The trial of Major General McDougall having been delayed by his objecting to the president and some of the members of the court martial which was constituted for the purpose of trying him, and there being no rule yet established in our military code of laws by which the right or limitation of challenges is ascertained, but the president and members excepted against having expressed a desire to be excused from that duty; it is therefore ordered that Major-General Howe preside at the said court, and that other members be appointed in the places of those who have been challenged and decline serving, as also of those who may be absent. The court will assemble at Westpoint or some convenient place in the vicinity on Wednesday next.

"Transcript of General Orders.

"JOHN CARLISLE, *Ass. Adjutant Genl.*"

HIGHLANDS, April 8, 1782.

The general court martial whereof Major-General Howe is appointed president by the orders of the Commander in Chief of the 7 instant, is to sit at West-point on Wednesday next at ten o'clock, A. M., of which all concerned will please to take notice and attend. The court will be composed of the following members, viz., Brigadiers-General J. Clinton and Paterson, Colonels Shepard, Swift, M. Jackson, H. Jackson, Lieutenant Colonels Commandant Brooks, Smith, and Sherman, Lieutenant Colonels Vose, Huntington, and Gray.

HIGHLANDS, April 9, 1782.

AFTER ORDERS.

Major Ashley is appointed a member of the general court martial whereof Major General Howe is president; vice Lieutenant Colonel Huntington who is indisposed.

HIGHLANDS, April 13, 1782.

"HEAD QUARTERS, NEWBURGH, April 12.

"The general court martial whereof Major General Howe is president will assemble at West-point tomorrow."

AFTER ORDERS.

HIGHLANDS, April 13, 1782.

Colonel Greateon is appointed a member of the general court martial whereof General Howe is president, in the room of Brigadier General Clinton, who is prevented attending on account of indisposition.

HIGHLANDS, April 14, 1782.

The general court martial whereof Major General Howe is president will sit tomorrow morning, 11 o'clock; of which all concerned will take notice and attend. Colonel Samuel B. Webb will attend as a member vice Colonel Greateon. Colonel Nicola, of the corps of invalids, will please to attend at West-point to-morrow, and will likewise be considered a member if there should be objections to any who are at present appointed.

HIGHLANDS, April 15, 1782.

AFTER ORDERS.

The general court martial of which Major-General Howe is president will sit tomorrow, eleven o'clock, A. M.

HIGHLANDS, April 16, 1782.

Should any circumstance prevent the general court martial whereof Major-General Howe is president being formed this day the members will convene again to-morrow, and so from day to day until the court is organized, and proceed to business.

"HEAD QUARTERS, NEWBURGH, April 15, 1782.

"The officers appointed as members of the court martial whereof Major-General Howe is president are to attend to that duty in preference to any other until the business before them is finished.

"Transcript of General Orders.

"ROBERT PEMBERTON, *Ass' Adj' Gen'.*"

HIGHLANDS, April 17, 1782.

Lieutenant Colonel Commandant Sprout will attend the court martial whereof General Howe is president in the room of Colonel Nicola, and if there should be objections to any of the present members he will be considered as a member.

"HEAD QUARTERS, NEWBURGH, August 1.

"Major General Howe and the members of the court martial of which he is president are to return to their duty in the line until further orders."

HEAD QUARTERS, NEWBURGH, August 28.

At a general court martial whereof Major General Howe is president, held at West-point by order of the Commander in Chief, Major General McDougall was tried on the following charges, viz.

1. For ordering the distribution of a quantity of boards (said to be about thirteen hundred which were brought to West-point the 6 day of December last in a sloop commanded by Captain Van Alstine, designed for the use of the department) to the troops at West-point only, when their arrival ought to

have been reported to the commanding general or deputy quartermaster of the department, that an equal distribution might have been ordered, and other troops who equally needed them, some of whom were suffering with the small pox, might have received relief.

2. For not reporting to the commanding general the escape of upwards of thirty prisoners from the provost at West-point on the night of the 4 instant that orders might have been sent to the outposts to take measures to intercept them on their way to the enemy, and it being an occurrence which ought to have been reported.

3. For drawing orders on the clothing store at Newburgh, particularly on October 2, 5, 8, 11, 18, 19, 27, 28, 29, and November 7, 10, 12 and 18, and one for a servant of Ensign Davis, without date, which is the prerogative of the commanding general only, and which he signified to General M'Dougall of the 26 of September last, such his orders besides invading the right of the commanding general have involved some of the paymasters in embarrassments in their accounts, particularly the paymaster of the 3 Massachusetts regiment.

4. In writing a letter to the commanding general on the 16 day of December last, injurious to command and unbecoming an officer, — the letter as follows ;

WEST POINT, December 16, 1781, 7 P. M.

SIR, — To be prepared for every contingency which might happen on the river to interrupt our transportation Colonel Putnam was out for several days to reconnoitre the country on both sides of the river for the most practicable routes to open roads to bring in our provisions and forage. He had not completed it when he was ordered on court martial, although he was for that important object kept off duty in garrison. The distress we now suffer is owing to his not being able to complete his observations, there being a supply of flour above the mountains, but neither the roads nor the river was practicable.

This is one of the disorderly effects of detailing the officers of this garrison with the army ; nor is this the only instance of disorder from that practice. An officer who was on-main guard for a week was detailed for other duty. I shall not enter into any further discussion on this subject till the Commander in

Chief comes on, when I shall apply to him to have this and several other unmilitary practices determined in a more solemn manner than can now be obtained; for, Sir, give me leave to tell you, I know my own rights and those of the garrison *not in speculation*, but in as long and as attentive service as my superiors. In the mean time, Sir, that service may not be injured, and that the distressing and pressing calls of humanity may be relieved, I beg Colonel Putnam may be relieved and suffered to go on that service.

I have the honor to be, Sir, your most obedient and most humble servant,

ALEX. M^cDOUGALL.

M. Gen^l HEATH.

5. For directing Colonel Crane, commandant of artillery in this department, to deliver arms and accoutrements on the 16 instant contrary to the General's order of the 4 instant, and threatening to send him to the provost in case of refusal.

6. For conversing before the field officers of the several corps stationed in the garrison of West Point who were convened at his request on the 16 January last, and in manner unbecoming an officer by bringing into question General Heath's right to command the garrison of West Point, representing his orders as unmilitary; saying that an officer was not bound or obliged to obey orders if he thought them improper or unmilitary; telling Colonel Crane that he had ill advisers, he believed; that he believed General Heath had advised him; desiring Colonel Crane to take the advice of the officers present, who he said were his countrymen; and many other things in the course of the said conversation tending to excite sedition, create divisions, subvert good order and discipline, and wound the service.

7. The conversing before officers of different ranks, particularly on the evening of the 7 January last, in a manner unbecoming an officer, saying that General Heath's orders were subversive of all good order and discipline and injurious from the centinel to the eldest major general in service, that he sent private commands to Colonel Crane without informing him [General McDougall] for the removal of a considerable quantity of ammunition from the magazine, and that if such a practice prevailed in the army it would be in the power of an

Arnold at any time to dismantle and sell the garrison, and publicly relating some matters that passed at a council of war at M^{rs} M^cGowen's in 1776, respecting the retreat from New York, and saying that none were opposed to it but a fool, a knave, and an obstinate honest man, that General Heath was the knave, and many other things in the course of the said conversation,—such conversation tending to lessen confidence in the commanding officer, to limit command, bring orders into contempt and destroy that due subordination which is the life of discipline and the only barrier against confusion and disorder.

Lastly. For ordering two public buildings near Fish-kill-landing to be pulled down in the months of November and December last, viz., a bakehouse and one other building which M^r George Fisher was ordered to pull down on the 18 of December last, and the materials to be removed to West Point, making additions and erecting buildings at West Point without the knowledge or consent of the commanding general, particularly the additions to the house in which General M^cDougall quarters and the building for the provost guard, when General M^cDougall's command at the post was of a temporary nature only & such measures not warranted either by his instructions or military principles.

The court on mature consideration of the charges against Major General M^cDougall, the evidence in the case, and the observations both by General M^cDougall and the judge advocate are of opinion: On the first charge, that Major General M^cDougall did order the distribution of the boards mentioned in the charge to the troops of West Point only, and that he is justifiable in so doing, because though the boards in the first instance might have been designed for the army at large, yet as the manner in which they were applied for to the quartermaster was agreeable to the custom of commandants of West Point, and specified the particular purpose for which the boards were intended, were sent to the post on such application, and receipted for by the officer who received them, to be delivered at West Point, he was warranted in such distribution, without a report being made to the commanding general or deputy quartermaster of the department.

On the 2 charge, it appears to the court that General M^cDougall is justifiable in not reporting the escape of the

prisoners to Major General Heath because the provost marshal of the army was at the post by order of General Heath, whose duty it was to make such report.

On the 3 charge, it appears to the court that General McDougall did draw orders on the clothing store on October 8, 18, 19, 28, November 7 and 10, and an order for clothing for Ensign Davis's servant, and that he is justifiable in so doing, because it has been customary and was requisite to service for officers of different grades to draw clothing from the clothing-store for necessitous soldiers; detached issues have been accordingly constantly made and there has appeared to the court no orders to the contrary. It does not appear that General McDougall drew the other orders mentioned in the charge.

On the 4 charge, the court are of opinion that General McDougall is justifiable.

On the 5 charge, it appears that General McDougall did order Colonel Crane to deliver arms and accoutrements on the 16 January last, and threatened upon his refusal to send him to the provost or confine to his room, but as Colonel Crane was a member of the garrison, and being senior officer of artillery at that time, had the keys of the military stores for the defence of the garrison, and under the orders of General McDougall, commandant thereof, the court are of opinion that General McDougall was justifiable for giving the orders, and for threatening to confine him for a disobedience of them, notwithstanding the orders of General Heath of the 4 of January last relative to the grand magazine.

On the 6 charge, the embarrassments Major General McDougall laboured under by the order of Major General Heath of the 4 of January last and other orders mentioned in evidence, his official rights as commandant of the garrison being thereby invaded, the magazines shut against his orders, which disabled him from drawing forth the necessary means for its defence in case of any emergency, the garrison officer through whom arms, ammunition, &c., were attainable refusing obedience to his legal orders, and directing no return to be made to Major General McDougall of the state of the magazine where stores were deposited for its defence are in the opinion of the court sufficient to justify Major General McDougall in convening the field officers of the several corps stationed in the

garrison on the 16 of January last, and for the whole of his conversation with them at that time. That part of the charge bringing in question Major General Heath's right to command the garrison of West Point, saying that an officer was not bound or obliged to obey orders if he thought them improper or unmilitary, is not supported.

On the 7 charge, the court find that General McDougall did converse before officers of different grades, accidentally met at his quarters on the 7 of January last, and did say that General Heath's orders were subversive of all good order and discipline, and injurious from the centinel to the eldest major general in service, that he sent private commands to Colonel Crane without informing him [General McDougall] for the removal of a considerable quantity of ammunition from the magazine, and that if such a practice prevailed in the army it would be in the power of an Arnold at any time to dismantle and sell the garrison, and publicly related some matters that passed at a council of war at M^r McGowen's in 1776 respecting the retreat from New York, and said that none were opposed to it but a fool, a knave & an obstinate honest man, and that General Heath was the knave, and are of opinion that the time, the place, the manner of expressing what is set forth in the charge, and the persons before whom he did express it, render such conversation unjustifiable and in breach of article 5 section 18 of the rules and articles of war.

On the last charge, it appears to the court that the bakehouse was pulled down on an application from Major General McDougall to Colonel Hughes, the deputy quartermaster, by his direction; that the other building was ordered by General McDougall on the 18 of December last to be pulled down, but was not pulled down on that order, but by order of Colonel Pickering, Quartermaster General, and that the materials were removed to West Point; that General McDougall did erect a building for a provost guard and made additions to the house in which he quartered, but it appears to the court from a letter produced in the case that General Heath knew and approved the building a provost guard house, therefore that General McDougall erecting the same was not, as is said in the charge, without the knowledge and consent of the commanding general. The court are of opinion that from constant usage of command-

ants of West Point, never yet interdicted, General McDougall is justifiable in making additions to the house in which he quarters.

The court agreeable to their opinion on the several charges do fully acquit Major General McDougall on the first, second, fifth, and sixth charges. On the fourth they acquit him. On the third and last charges they fully acquit him, and think the charges vexatious. On the seventh charge they sentence him to be reprimanded by the Commander in Chief in general orders.

“By the United States in Congress assembled, August 15, 1782.

“The proceedings and sentence of a general court-martial on the trial of Major General McDougall having been read,

“Resolved, that Congress approve the sentence of the said court.”

It is with extreme reluctance the Commander in Chief finds himself under the necessity of carrying the sentence of the court upon the 7 charge into execution, more especially as it concerns an officer of so high rank and generally acknowledged merit.

The ill consequences arising from a too free censure of officers of superior by those of inferior rank are too obvious to need enumerating. The Commander in Chief cannot, however, help remarking particularly upon the impropriety of one member of a council of war divulging the opinion of another (except in cases of criminality, which could not fail to be immediately noticed) and undertaking to reflect *publicly* upon him for it. Such a liberty, if allowed, would very often tend to prevent an officer of coolness and deliberation from giving his opinion in favor of cautious measures, lest the army and the world at large should attribute his reasons to other than the real motive.

Major-General McDougall is released from his arrest.

The general court martial of which Major General Howe is president is dissolved.

INDEX.

INDEX.

A.

Adamant, *British ship of war*, 367.
 Adams, *Hon. John*, letter to, on his election to the Presidency, from William Heath, 395. Letter from, to William Heath, 398.
 Adams, —, 323.
 Albany, plan to burn, 239. General Stark's characterization of, 242, 243.
 Allan, *Col. John*, 63, 65, 102.
 Allen, *Major Jonathan*, accidentally shot on a hunting party, 14.
 Alliance, *frigate*, 81, 205.
 André, *Major John*, execution of, 111.
 Angell, *Col. Isaac*, 76, 78.
 Anspach *regiment*, 51.
 Antill, *Lieut.-Col. Edward*, 136, 191.
 Apedale, *Dr. —*, 60.
 Arbuthnot, *Admiral Marriot*, 88, 104, 107, 108, 109, 110, 190.
 Armand, *Col. Charles Tufin, Marquis de la Rouerie*, 152.
 Army, representation of the officers at West Point, complaining of the allowance of provisions, 3.
 Arnold, *Gen. Benedict*, 112, 127, 168, 171, 178, 181, 184, 192, 263, 264, 265, 336, 353, 355, 359.
 Artificers, rations for, 351.
 Ashley, *Major M.*, appointed a member of the court martial for the trial of Gen. McDougall, in place of Col. Huntington indisposed, 401. Mentioned, 176.
 Aurora, *privateer*, 43.
 Austin, *John*, 184.

B.

Badlam, *Lieut.-Col. Ezra*, 32, 339, 373, 375, 376, 381.
 Bailey, *Capt. —*, 9.
 Bailey, *Gen. Jacob*, 323.
 Baker, *George*, 127.
 Baldwin, *Col. Jeduthan*, 152.
 Ballacum, *Elijah*, 133.
 Bancroft, *Capt. James*, 53.
 Banister, *Capt. Seth*, 375, 376.
 Barber, *Nathaniel, Jr.*, 40.
 Barfleur, *British ship of the line*, 232.
 Barrett, *Samuel*, 300, 301.
 Barry, *Capt. John*, 205.
 Bartlett, *Hon. Josiah*, notice of, 273n. Letter from, to William Heath, 273.
 Bauman, *Major Sebastian*, 14, 157, 190.

Beef for the army, need of regular supplies of, 196, 199, 200, 206, 208, 216, 218.
 Bellows, *Gen. Benjamin*, 274.
 Bigelow, *Col. Timothy*, 9.
 Boris, —, 13.
 Bostwick, *Andrew*, 10.
 Bounty for Massachusetts soldiers, 60, 114, 119, 166, 167, 179.
 Bowdoin, *Hon. James*, letters to, from William Heath, 92, 93, 108. Mentioned, 63, 65, 82.
 Bowen, *Jabez, Dep. Gov. of Rhode Island*, letter from, to William Heath, 85.
 Bradford, *Col. Gamaliel*, 4.
 Bradley, *Ensign Levi*, 31, 33.
 Bread for the army, allowance of, 135, 285.
 Brewster, *Capt. C.*, 289, 311.
 Brooks, *Lieut.-Col. John*, 29, 164. Appointed a member of the court martial for the trial of Gen. McDougall, 400.
 Brooks, *D.*, 298.
 Broome, —, 111, 113.
 Brown, *Samuel*, 173.
 Brown, *Gen. —*, 61.
 Brown, —, 251.
 Budd, —, 131.
 Burgoyne, *Gen. John*, 256, 299.
 Burley, *Lieut. William*, 31, 33.
 Bush, *David*, 11.
 Butler, *Col. John*, 60. Appointed a member of the court martial for the trial of Gen. McDougall, 399. Mentioned, 400.
 Butt's Hill, near Newport, *R. I.*, 89, 96, 100, 101, 102, 105.

C.

Campbell, *Major John*, 7, 19, 145.
 Canada, proposed expedition against the British in, 304.
 Carleton, *Gen. Sir Guy*, 383, 389, 391.
 Carleton, *Major Thomas*, 125.
 Carpenter, Increase, 313.
 Cartwright, *Capt. Thomas*, 41.
 Chaffault de Resné, *Louis Charles, Comte de*, 80, 81.
 Champion, *Col. Henry*, 215.
 Charleston, *S. C.*, British expedition to, 48, 61, 64, 66, 67, 58, 59, 61, 63, 75.
 Charlestown, *N. H.* (No. 4), 257.
 Charlus de la Croix, *Comte*, 128.
 Charon, *British frigate*, 290.
 Chastellux, *François Jean, Marquis de*, 98, 128, 136, 145.

- Clavarack, *N. Y.*, 209, 221, 224, 345, 346, 349.
- Clinton, *Gov.* George, letters to, from William Heath, 11, 15, 123, 182, 303, 319. Letters from, to William Heath, 122, 321. Mentioned, 11, 17, 29, 35, 114, 118, 125, 156, 232, 235, 294, 296.
- Clinton, *Sir* Henry, 49, 51, 56, 57, 75, 85, 91, 94, 96, 101, 104, 112, 117, 183, 190, 240, 247, 256, 264, 271, 279, 282, 283, 284, 286, 287, 288, 291, 312, 313.
- Clinton, *Gen.* James, 124, 141. Appointed a member of the court martial for the trial of *Gen.* McDougall, 399, 400. Indisposed and *Col.* Greaton appointed in his place, 401.
- Clothing for the army, need of, 33, 36, 43, 126, 139, 140, 197, 209, 211, 333, 336.
- Cobb, *Gen.* David, notice of, 294*n*. Letter from, to William Heath, 294.
- Cochran, *Dr.* John, 335.
- Colt, Peter, 27.
- Confederacy, *frigate*, 192.
- Connecticut, location of the troops from, in Dec., 1780, 138. Necessary supplies to be forwarded from, 196. Votes to send supplies immediately, 198. Clothing for the army in tolerable forwardness, 202. Quantity of rum needed from, 204. Urgent request from *Gen.* Heath that rum should be immediately sent from, to the army, 213. *Gov.* Trumbull's account of what has been done, 214-216. Protection for the western part of the State desired, 237. Mutinous intentions among troops of, 373.
- Conway, *Gen.* Henry S., motion of, in the House of Commons, 370.
- Cook, *Lieut.* —, 108.
- Cooper, *Capt.* —, 30, 31.
- Coram, *L. I.*, destruction of the British magazine at, 137.
- Cornell, *Gen.* Ezekiel, 212.
- Cornwallis, Charles, *Marquis*, 75, 233, 240, 247, 256, 260, 261, 264, 266, 271, 276, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 288, 289, 291, 294, 295, 312, 324.
- Corny, Louis Dominique Ethis de, 69, 82.
- Cotton, Isaac, 341.
- Craig, *Dr.* James, 72, 79, 374.
- Crane, *Col.* John, 36, 43, 152, 225, 306, 339, 367, 404, 406, 407.
- Craneneck, *L. I.*, 309, 310.
- Cushing, *Hon.* Thomas, notice of, 118*n*. Letter to, from William Heath, 118. Mentioned, 102, 114.
- D.
- Damours (Damas, Joseph F. L. C.), *Comte*, 145.
- Danbury, *Conn.*, 5.
- Davis, Caleb, letters to, from William Heath, 169, 181.
- Davis, *Ensign* —, 403, 406.
- Day, —, *quartermaster*, 173.
- Deane, *frigate*, 43, 58.
- De Lancey, *Col.* James, 32, 91, 144, 146, 168, 177, 178, 247, 254, 263, 271, 338, 360.
- Depreciation of the currency, 18, 41.
- Deserters, 9, 13, 336, 379, 381.
- Deux Ponts *regiment*, 205.
- Digby, *Admiral* Robert, 248, 264, 275, 276, 291, 312.
- Discontent among the officers in the army, 39, 40, 44, 45, 51, 373.
- Dobbs' Ferry, 181.
- Donop, Carl E. K., *Count*, 313.
- Drake, *Commodore* Francis S., 108, 109.
- Drake, *Col.* Samuel, 132.
- Drew, *Capt.* Seth, 4.
- Drought in Rhode Island, in the summer of 1780, 86.
- Duke of Cumberland, *packet*, 370.
- Duncan, *Capt.* —, 342.
- Dunham, *Capt.* —, 275, 276.
- Duville, *Capt.* Peter, 75, 78.
- E.
- Eayers, Ephraim, 341.
- Edgar, *Capt.* John, 323, 324.
- Edwards, Thomas, letter to, from William Heath, 367.
- Emmerick, *Col.* Andreas, 32.
- Enlistments for the army, 36, 37, 38.
- Enos, *Gen.* Roger, 292.
- Estaing, Charles Hector, *Comte* d', 71.
- Express riders, not to be maintained at the public expense, 26.
- F.
- Farley, *Lieut.* Michael, 30, 31, 33.
- Felton, —, 379.
- Fernald, *Lieut.-Col.* Tobias, 376.
- Ferris, Joshua, 142, 144.
- Fisher, George, 405.
- Fishkill, *N. Y.*, escape of prisoners at, 118, 143. Insecurity of the prisoners at, 172.
- Fitch, John, 27.
- Flanders, —, 251.
- Flint, —, 236.
- Flour for the army, 5, 6, 12, 15, 24, 25.
- Flowers, *Capt.* Samuel, 23.
- Flucker, Thomas, 41.
- Folard, *Chevalier* Jean Charles de, 387.
- Foraging, 129-133, 137, 145, 146.
- Fort Ann, 114.
- Fort Clinton, 22.
- Fort Edward, 114.
- Fort George, 114.
- Fort Herkimer, 122, 321.
- Fort Putnam, 22.
- Fort Rensselaer, 322.
- Fort St. George, capture of, by Major Tallmadge, 137.
- Fort Schuyler, 114, 122, 124, 125, 127, 196, 199.

Fort Slongo, 251, 265, 271, 277, 278.
 Fort Washington, 18, 32, 168, 271.
 Fowler, *Ensign* Stephen, 31, 33.
 Francis, Tench, extract from instructions given him with reference to the transportation of specie from Boston to Philadelphia, 245. Mentioned, 241, 244, 276.
 Francis, —, 22.
 Franklin, *Dr.* Benjamin, Irish promises to, 55.
 Franklin, *privateer*, 60.
 Frederick the Great, *King of Prussia*, 53, 56.
 Freeman, *Lieut.* —, 383.
 French army in America, organization of, 67 *et seq.* Difficulty of Frenchmen in driving American horses, 103. Winter quarters for, 106.
 Frink, Nathan, 173.
 Frye, *Ensign* Nathaniel, 142.

G.

G., S., letters of secret intelligence from, 252, 263, 265, 287, 313. Confinement of, 312, 313.
 Gamble, James, 225.
 Gansevoort, *Gen.* Peter, 114, 122, 125, 291, 292, 293.
 Gardner, David, 356.
 Gardner's Island, 103, 104, 108, 109, 110.
 Gates, *Gen.* Horatio, 86.
 Georgia, 278.
 Germain, *Lord* George, 359.
 Germany, *Emperor of*, 391.
 Gibbs, *Major* Caleb, 294.
 Gillchrist, Charles, 344.
 Gimat, *Col.* —, 98.
 Glover, *Gen.* John, letter from, to William Heath, 314. Desertions from his brigade, 9. Mentioned, 76, 79, 80, 118, 349.
 Godfrey, *Gen.* George, 95.
 Granger, —, 117.
 Grasse-Tilly, *François J. P., Comte de*, 265, 276, 283, 287, 291, 295.
 Graves, *Admiral* Thomas, 88, 264, 312.
 Gray, *Col.* Eben, appointed a member of the court martial for the trial of Gen. McDougall, 400.
 Greaton, *Col.* John, notice of, 378 *n.* Letter from, to William Heath, 378. Mentioned, 159. Appointed a member of the court martial for the trial of Gen. McDougall, in place of Gen. Clinton, 401. Succeeded by *Col.* Samuel B. Webb, *ib.*
 Greene, *Col.* Christopher, 73, 74, 76, 78, 79, 82, 87, 89, 90, 101, 102, 105, 109, 189.
 Greene, *Maj.-Gen.* Nathanael, 18, 94, 113, 114, 121, 176, 185, 287, 295.
 Greene, William, *Gov. of Rhode Island*, letters from, to William Heath, 95, 100. Mentioned, 72, 108, 201, 205, 211, 220, 221.

Grosvenor, *Col.* Thomas, 317, 319. Appointed a member of the court martial for the trial of Gen. McDougall, 400.

H.

Haight, —, 131.
 Hale, *Major* —, 18, 21.
 Halifax, *N. S.*, military and naval situation at, in 1780, 64, 65, 76. A favorite object of attack for the French, 80.
 Hamilton, *Col.* Alexander, 98.
 Hancock, Ebenezer, *Deputy Paymaster General*, 43.
 Hancock, *Hon.* John, letters to, from William Heath, 154, 164, 166, 175, 208, 222, 227, 261, 262, 275, 290, 369, 383, 388, 390. Letters from, to William Heath, 248, 389. Mentioned, 152, 201, 208, 225, 247.
 Hancock, *Mrs.* John, 262, 370, 384, 389, 391.
 Harris, *Lieut.* —, 360.
 Haskell, *Capt.* E., 319.
 Hatch, *Col.* Jabez, notice of, 360 *n.* Letter from, to William Heath, 360. Mentioned, 195, 295.
 Hay, *Col.* Udney, letters from, to William Heath, 18, 24. Letter to, from William Heath, 21. Mentioned, 11, 35, 118, 130, 141, 157. Considers about resigning his office, 19, 21, 26.
 Hayward, *Capt.* —, 331.
 Hazen, *Col.* Moses, 117, 125, 139, 140, 141, 162, 163, 174, 320, 321, 328, 332.
 Heath, *Maj.-Gen.* William, letters from, to John Adams, 395; James Bowdoin, 92, 93, 103; George Clinton, 11, 15, 123, 182, 303, 319; Thomas Cushing, 118; Caleb Davis, 169, 181; Thomas Edwards, 367; John Hancock, 154, 164, 166, 175, 208, 222, 227, 261, 262, 275, 290, 369, 383, 388, 390; Udney Hay, 21; Robert Howe, 34, 56, 57, 58; William Hull, 149; Michael Jackson, 39; Marquis de Lafayette, 73, 84, 99; Benjamin Lincoln, 379; William Livingston, 272; Alexander McDougall, 133, 226, 231, 267, 305, 318, 323, 333; Thomas McKean, 283, 284; Council of Massachusetts, 36; General Assembly of Massachusetts, 51; Hugh Maxwell, 175, 362; Convention of Committees of the New England States, 216; Samuel H. Parsons, 150, 260; John Paterson, 20, 340; Jonathan Pollard and Samuel Barrett, 299; Eliphalet Porter, 392; Jeremiah Powell, 32; Rufus Putnam, 238; Comte de Rochambeau, 110, 168; Recruiting Committee of the Town of Roxbury, 76; Silvanus Seely, 269; William Shepard, 7; Lord Stirling, 347, 356; Benjamin Tallmadge, 253, 277; Jonathan Trumbull, 196, 203, 213, 228, 286; Richard Varick, 352; George Washington, 8,

- 10, 13, 17, 22, 30, 36, 41, 59, 62, 64, 70, 71, 74, 75, 79, 80, 81, 82, 84, 87, 88, 91, 96, 101, 102, 104, 105, 107, 109, 113, 116, 125, 134, 137, 139, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 152, 153, 155, 156, 158, 159, 161, 162, 171, 173, 177, 178, 183, 184, 186, 187, 189, 190, 191, 192, 198, 201, 204, 210, 220, 223, 224, 233, 236, 239, 246, 275, 277, 280, 294, 323, 325, 327, 331, 332, 334, 335, 337, 340, 341, 343, 345, 348, 350, 353, 359, 364, 365, 367, 368, 371, 373, 375, 377, 381, 384, 386, 396; Meshech Weare, 199, 207, 256. Letters to, from John Adams, 398; Josiah Bartlett, 273; Jabez Bowen, 85; George Clinton, 122, 321; David Cobb, 294; John Glover, 314; John Greaton, 378; William Greene, 95, 100; John Hancock, 348, 389; Jabez Hatch, 360; Udney Hay, 18, 24; Robert Howe, 46, 50, 54, 364; William Hull, 146, 179; David Humphrys, 165; Henry Knox, 40; Marquis de Lafayette, 66, 89, 97, 98, 128; William Livingston, 255, 279; Alexander McDougall, 120, 129, 229, 266, 301, 306, 315, 326; Thomas McKean, 283, 282; Robert Morris, 244; John Moylan, 297; Samuel H. Parsons, 173, 258; John Paterson, 4, 20, 44, 61, 114; Richard Peters, 240; Timothy Pickering, 193; Comte de Rochambeau, 113, 136; Philip Schuyler, 351; William Shepard, 5; John Stark, 242; Lord Stirling, 291, 304, 358; Benjamin Tallmadge, 111, 249, 271, 287, 309, 311; Jonathan Trumbull, 214, 237, 254; Richard Varick, 355; George Washington, 78, 94, 392; Meshech Weare, 258. Desires leave of absence to visit his family, 14, 34. Detained by the uneasiness among the Massachusetts soldiers, 63. Goes to Providence to welcome the French officers, 70. Is desirous to rejoin the army, 92. Remarks by, on the need of military subordination, 162-164. Asks for a reimbursement of extra expenses, 185. Assumes command of the army on the Hudson, 227, 234. Exhibits charges against Gen. McDougall, 338. Exhibits an additional charge, 347. Advice as to an attack on New York, 371. On the introduction of instrumental music in the church at Roxbury, 392.
- Heath, *Mrs.* William, 41, 180.
Hermione, *French frigate*, 65, 75, 80, 85.
Holdridge, *Lieut.* John, 379.
Honeywell, *Justice* Israel, 178.
Honnywell, *Capt.* —, 337.
Hood, *Admiral* Sir Samuel, 232, 233, 236.
Hopkins, *Capt.* John B., 81.
Horseneck, *Conn.*, 5.
Howe, *Gen.* Robert, notice of, 34*n*. Letters to, from William Heath, 34, 56, 57, 58. Letters from, to William Heath, 46, 50, 54, 364. Appointed, in place of Lord Stirling, president of the court martial for the trial of Gen. McDougall, 400. Mentioned, 14, 42, 158, 278, 401, 402, 408.
Hughes, *Col.* Hugh, 124, 145, 192, 231, 267, 297, 303, 305, 308, 311, 346, 349, 407.
Hull, *Gen.* William, notice of, 146*n*. Letters from, to William Heath, 146, 179. Letter to, from William Heath, 149. Mentioned, 146, 153, 155, 156, 158, 173, 378.
Humphrys, *Col.* David, notice of, 165*n*. Letter from, to William Heath, 165. Mentioned, 150.
Hunt, *Capt.* Thomas, 5, 232.
Huntington, *Lieut.-Col.* Ebenezer, 356. Appointed, in place of Col. Butler, a member of the court martial for the trial of Gen. McDougall, 400. Indisposed, 401.
Huntington, *Gen.* Jedidiah, 140, 247, 250, 375.
- I.
- Ireland, uneasiness of, 41, 55, 57, 58.
Iris, formerly Hancock, *frigate*, 65.
- J.
- J., H., mentioned, 312.
Jack, *privateer*, 60.
Jackson, *Col.* Henry, 118, 154, 295. Appointed a member of the court martial for the trial of Gen. McDougall, 399, 400.
Jackson, *Col.* Michael, notice of, 39*n*. Letter to, from William Heath, 39. Appointed a member of the court martial for the trial of Gen. McDougall, 400. Mentioned, 4.
Jackson, *Lieut.* —, 8*th* Mass. regiment, 334.
Johnson, *Sir* John, 60, 122.
Johnson, *Col.* Thomas, 323, 324.
Johnstone, *Commodore* George, 276.
Johnstown, *N. Y.*, 322.
- K.
- Keese, John, 191.
Keith, *Major* Israel, 39.
King's Ferry, *N. Y.*, 35, 155, 158, 308.
Knap, *Major* Moses, 4.
Knox, *Gen.* Henry, notice of, 40*n*. Letter from, to William Heath, 40. Mentioned, 155, 169, 242, 381.
Knyphausen, Dodo Henry, *Baron*, 49, 70, 117, 183.
Kosciusko, *Col.* Thaddeus, 126, 127.
- L.
- Lafayette, Gilbert Motier, *Marquis* de, letters from, to William Heath, 66, 89,

- 97, 98, 128. Letters to, from William Heath, 73, 84, 99. Arrives at Boston, 61. Describes the organization of the French army, 67. Equivalent ranks in the two armies, 69. Impatient to join the main army, 97, 99. Mentioned, 264, 358, 361.
- Lafayette, *frigate*, 205.
- Lamont, *Lieut.* —, 381.
- Landgraf *regiment*, 51.
- La Touche-Tréville, *Capt.* Louis R. M. La Vassor de, 65, 74, 75, 80.
- Laurens, *Col.* John, 235, 262.
- Lauzun, Armand Louis de Gontaut-Biron, *Duc* de, 67, 84, 128.
- Laval, Anne Alexandre, M. S.-J., *Marquis* de, 128.
- Lawrence, *Major* —, 259, 261.
- Ledyard, *Col.* William, 107, 247.
- Lincoln, *Gen.* Benjamin, letter to, from William Heath, 379. Mentioned, 75, 180, 343, 356, 357, 369, 375, 390.
- Livermore, *Capt.* Daniel, 240, 278.
- Livingston, *Col.* James, 145.
- Livingston, William, letters from, to William Heath, 255, 279. Letter to, from William Heath, 272. Mentioned, 270.
- Lloyd's Neck, post at, 228, 251, 253, 265, 289.
- Lockwood, 358.
- Longborn, *Major* —, 50.
- Loring, Joshua, Jr., 379.
- Loveless, —, execution of, 281.
- Lowell, *Rev.* Charles, *D.D.*, 393*n*.
- Lowther, Sir James, 359.
- Ludwick, —, 135.
- Lunt, *Major* Ezra, 342.
- Lurvey, *Serj.* James, 171.
- Lyman, *Major* Daniel, 168.
- M.**
- McDougall, *Gen.* Alexander, letters from, to William Heath, 120, 129, 229, 266, 301, 306, 315, 326; to George Washington, 303. Letters to, from William Heath, 133, 226, 231, 267, 305, 318, 328, 338. Charges filed against him by Gen. Heath, 338. Arrested, 340. Additional charge preferred against him, 347. Announces his intention to prefer charges against Gen. Heath, 363. Proceedings of the court martial, 399-408. Reprimanded by Gen. Washington, 408. Mentioned, 135, 142, 352, 355, 357, 364, 365, 366, 367, 381.
- McDougall, *Major* —, 121.
- McGowen, *Mrs* —, council held at her house, 405, 407.
- Machin, *Capt.* Thomas, 145.
- McKean, *Hon.* Thomas, notice of, 233*n*. Letters from, to William Heath, 233, 282. Letters to, from William Heath, 283, 284.
- Maclean, *Gen.* Francis, 64.
- Maples, Robert, *alias* John Walker, 191
- Mars, *ship*, 170, 181.
- Marshal, *Capt.* —, 293.
- Marshall, *Col.* Thomas, 4, 21.
- Martha's Vineyard, requisition on the inhabitants of, by the British, 104.
- Massachusetts, army officers from, complain of the scanty allowance of provisions at West Point, 3. Soldiers from, plan to desert, 9. Destitute condition of discharged soldiers in, 36. Recruits to be sent on to the army, 37. The State makes good the depreciation in the currency, 41. Recruits to be sent forward every Monday, 42. Gen. Robert Howe wishes he had been born in, 56. Bounty offered by the State, 60. Officers and soldiers, while in the army, to be exempt from taxation, 76. Militia from, join the Rhode Island militia, 101. Location of the troops from, in Dec., 1780, 138. Unwillingness of the troops to march against the Pennsylvania mutineers, 159, 160, 161. Bounty voted by the State, 166, 167. Ill success in recruiting, 179. Poor quality of the recruits, 181. Money sent by, to pay her troops, 191. Will do all in her power to furnish supplies for the army, 201. Clothing not complete, 202. The business of permanent supplies under consideration, 205. Expedition urged, 206. Importance of having provisions and rum from, sent forward at once, 209. Spirited resolutions passed by, for completing her battalions, 211. Supply of fresh beef from, *ib.* Gen. Heath urges that rum from, be sent on at once, 222. To furnish a part of the beef previously required from New Hampshire, 224. Alacrity with which the militia from, have joined the army, 262.
- Massachusetts, Council of the State of, letter to, from William Heath, 36.
- Massachusetts, General Assembly of, letter to, from William Heath, 51. Petition to, 206.
- Maxwell, *Major* Hugh, notice of, 175*n*. Letter to, from William Heath, 175, 362. Mentioned, 177, 178.
- Maynard, *Lieut.* John, 31, 33.
- Mead, *Col.* John, 23.
- Mills, *Capt.* —, 389.
- Money for the army, need of, 186, 193.
- Montgomery, *Major* —, 264.
- Morgan, *Gen.* Daniel, 175, 176.
- Morris, *Hon.* Robert, letter from, to William Heath, 244. Mentioned, 240, 241, 276, 325, 346.
- Morrisania, *N. Y.*, 23, 153, 168, 169, 173.
- Morrison, *Major* John, 300.
- Mott's tavern, 341.
- Moylan, John, letter from, to William Heath, 297. Mentioned, 333.
- Murderer's Creek, *N. Y.*, 145.

Murnan, *Major* —, 240.
Murray, *Major* —, 288.

N.

Negro regiment in the army, 73, 79.
Negro slave, captured at Morrisania, to be sold for the benefit of the troops, 173.
New England States, letter to the Convention of Committees of, from William Heath, 216. Application to, for regular supplies of provisions, etc., 196 *et seq.*
Newhall, *Lieut.-Col.* Ezra, 159, 160, 161.
New Hampshire, location of the troops from, in Dec., 1780, 138. Regular supplies from, needed for the army, 199, 200. Little clothing prepared, 202. Importance of having permanent supplies from, 208. Statement of what had been done, 223. Quantity of beef from, to be reduced, 224. Difficulties with Vermont, 274.
New Haven, *Conn.*, 237, 247, 259.
New Jersey troops, revolt of, 165, 167, 168, 169.
New London, *Conn.*, 238, 247, 250, 254, 259, 263, 264.
Newport, *R. I.*, French fleet and army at, 82, 83, 84, 87. Proposed attack on, 93. Mentioned, 259.
New Windsor, *N. Y.*, 4, 35.
New York, illicit trade with, 5. Distress of the British in, 12. Situation of the troops in, 252. Movements of the British in, 263, 265, 271. Proposed attack on, 282, 284, 285.
Nicholas, *Major* —, 241.
Nicola, *Col.* Lewis, appointed a member of the court martial for the trial of Gen. McDougall, 401. Succeeded by *Lieut.-Col.* Sprout, 402.
Nixon, *Col.* Thomas, 183.
Noailles, Louis Marie, *Vicomte de*, 128, 145.
Norton, *Col.* Chapple, 32, 33.
Norwalk, *Conn.*, 272.

O.

Ogden, —, 164.
Olney, *Col.* Jeremiah, 375.
Otis and Henley, *Messrs.*, 212, 221.

P.

Paper, scarcity of, in the army, 164.
Parker, Daniel, *army contractor*, 386.
Parsons, *Gen.* Samuel H., letters to, from William Heath, 150, 260. Letters from, to William Heath, 173, 258. Mentioned, 152, 158, 159, 166, 186, 228, 238, 254.
Paterson, *Gen.* John, letters from, to William Heath, 4, 20, 44, 61, 114. Letters to, from William Heath, 20, 340. Appointed to the command of West Point on the arrest of Gen. McDougall, 340. Appointed a member of the court martial for the trial of Gen. McDougall, 399, 400. Mentioned, 29, 119, 135, 229, 267, 317, 332, 344, 350, 381.
Peabody, *Lieut.* Ebenezer, desires to resign his commission, 23.
Pennsylvania Line, mutiny in the, 150, 151, 152, 159, 164, 168.
Perkins, *Major* William, 72.
Peters, Richard, letter from, to William Heath, 240.
Phelps, Oliver, 198, 201, 211, 219, 249.
Phillips, *Gen.* William, 190, 299.
Phillips, —, 12, 13, 178.
Pickering, *Col.* Timothy, letter from, to William Heath, 193, 330. Mentioned, 344.
Pierce, *Rev.* John, *D.D.*, his notice of *Rev.* Eliphalet Porter, *D.D.*, 392*n*.
Pigot, *Gen.* Robert, 300.
Pollard, *Col.* Jonathan, 299, 300, 301.
Pollard, *Col.* Jonathan, and Barrett, Samuel, letter to, from William Heath, 299.
Pomeroy, Ralph, 195, 221, 248.
Pompton, *N. J.*, 137, 155, 157, 236.
Poor, *Gen.* Enoch, 9, 10, 23, 32, 51.
Popkin, *Lieut.-Col.* John, 384.
Porter, *Rev.* Eliphalet, *D.D.*, notice of, 392*n*. Letter to, from William Heath, on the introduction of instrumental music in the church in Roxbury, 392.
Porter, *Rev.* John, 393*n*.
Porter, *Major* John, 343.
Porter, *Major* —, 171.
Powell, *Hon.* Jeremiah, letter to, from William Heath, 32.
Pray, *Capt.* John, 189, 190, 236, 237.
Prichard, *Capt.* Thomas, 147, 148, 149, 150, 176.
Prince, John, 361.
Paine and Russell, *Messrs.*, 295.
Prince William, *British ship of the line*, 283.
Proclamation as to the supply of provisions at Newport, *R. I.*, during the presence of the French army and fleet, 83.
Providence, *R. I.*, 66, 70, 88. Powder at, stored in a dangerous place, 72, 87. Convention at, 212.
Prudent, *British ship*, 252, 264.
Public spirit, decline of, in 1780, 44-46.
Putnam, *Rev.* George, *D.D.*, 393*n*.
Putnam, *Gen.* Rufus, letter to, from William Heath, 238. Appointed a member of the court martial for the trial of Gen. McDougall, 399. Mentioned, 14, 159, 160, 161, 171, 237, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 332, 364, 377.
Pyramus (*Paramus*), *N. J.*, attack on, 46, 49.

Q.

Quakers, 303.
Queen of France, *frigate*, 75.

R.

Ray, *Ensign* Benjamin, 5.
Read, Thomas, *paymaster*, 27, 35.
Recruiting for the army, 37, 38, 42, 43, 44, 48, 49, 54, 115, 116, 119, 181.
Reid, *Lieut.-Col.* George, 332, 343, 346.
Reid, *Major* —, 125, 140, 141, 144.
Rensselaer, *Gen.* Henry K. (Van), 292.
Rhode Island, to complete her quota for the army, 74. Not to be incorporated with black recruits, 75. Arrival of the French fleet and army at, 84. Drought in, 86. Difficulty in supplying the troops with provisions, 95. The whole militia to be called out to repel an expected attack from the British, 100. Fails to raise her regiment of three months' militia, 104. Location of the troops from, in 1780, 138. Will spare no exertions to furnish the necessary supplies for the army, 201. Clothing nearly complete, 202. Gov. Greene's account of what had been done, 220, 221. Supplies ordered by, 224.
Richardson (Richards), *Capt.* Peter, 247.
Rickman, —, 303.
Riedesel, Frederick Adolph, *Baron* von, 281, 324.
Ringwood, *N. J.*, 155.
Rivington, James, his "New York Loyal Gazette," 236, 248, 275.
Roberts, *Capt.* —, 30, 31, 33.
Robertson, James, his "Royal American," 232.
Robust, *British ship*, 252, 264.
Robinson, *Col.* Beverley, 141.
Robinson, *Ensign* Thomas, 369.
Rochambeau, J. B. Donatien Vimeur, *Comte de*, letters to, from William Heath, 110, 168. Letters from, to William Heath, 113, 136. Mentioned, 67, 69, 74, 84, 86, 87, 89, 90, 91, 92, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 100, 101, 102, 103, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 295.
Rodney, *Admiral* George B., 107, 108, 109.
Roebuck, *British ship*, 252.
Ross, *Major* Alexander, 304.
Roxbury, *Mass.*, letter to the Recruiting Committee of the town of, from William Heath, 76. Introduction of instrumental music in the church in, 392.
Rum for the army, pressing need of, 197, 200, 204, 207, 211, 213, 215, 221, 222, 224, 227.
Russia, *Empress of*, 391.

S.

S., *Mr.*, arrested and tried, 312, 313.
St. Johns, *Canada*, 276.

St. Leger, *Col.* Barry, 304.
Saltonstall, *Capt.* —, 247.
Sands, Comfort, *contractor*, 335, 346, 368.
Saratoga, 276, 281, 296, 321.
Scammel, *Col.* Alexander, 287, 334.
Scarcity of provisions in the army, 16, 19, 33, 34, 144, 157.
Schoharie, *N. Y.*, 322.
Schuyler, *Gen.* Philip, letter from, to William Heath, 351. Mentioned, 190, 286, 342, 345, 350, 354.
Secret Intelligence from New York, 252, 263, 265, 287, 313. Mentioned, 47.
Seely, *Col.* Silvanus, letter to, from William Heath, 269. Mentioned, 255, 272, 273, 280.
Sewall, *Capt.* Henry, 22.
Shaw, *Major* Samuel, 41.
Sheldon, *Col.* Elisha, 152, 226, 227, 237, 277, 290, 311, 325, 328, 331, 337.
Shepard, *Col.* William, notice of, 5*n*. Letter from, to William Heath, 5. Letter to, from William Heath, 7. Appointed a member of the court martial for the trial of Gen. McDougall, 399. Mentioned, 12, 13.
Sherman, *Lieut.-Col.* Isaac, appointed a member of the court martial for the trial of Gen. McDougall, 400.
Sill, *Capt.* —, 347.
Simcoe, *Col.* John G., 93.
Simpson, —, information given by, 189.
Skinner, —, 379.
Small pox in the army, 178, 326, 334, 343.
Smart, *Capt.* —, 171.
Smith, Joshua, 112, 124.
Smith, *Col.* William, 170.
Smith, *Lieut.-Col.* —, 381. Appointed a member of the court martial for the trial of Gen. McDougall, 400.
Smith, *Capt.* —, 381.
Smith Town, *L. I.*, 250, 251, 253.
Snow, *Lieut.* Lemuel, 23.
Specie from France, to be transported from Boston to Philadelphia, 240 *et seq.*, 296.
Spencer, *Serj.* William, 29.
Sprout, *Lieut.-Col.* Ebenezer, 171. Appointed a member of the court martial for the trial of Gen. McDougall, in the place of Col. Nicola, 402.
Spurr, *Major* John, appointed a member of the court martial for the trial of Gen. McDougall, 400.
Stacey, *Lieut.-Col.* William, 60, 324.
Stamford, *Conn.*, 236, 238, 239, 250, 260.
Stark, *Gen.* John, letter from, to William Heath, 242. Mentioned, 235, 281, 284, 286, 291, 292, 293, 296, 320, 325, 328, 332, 342, 343.
Staten Island, 11, 47, 252, 272, 275, 279, 283, 360.
Stevens, Nathaniel, 196, 199.
Stewart, —, 330.
Stirling, William Alexander, *Gen. Lord*, letters from, to William Heath, 291, 304,

358. Letters to, from William Heath, 347, 356. Appointed president of the court martial for the trial of Gen. McDougall, 399. Challenged and asks to be excused, 400. Mentioned, 11, 296.
 Stoddard, *Capt.* —, 30, 31.
 Strong, *Major* —, 132.
 Sullivan, *Gen.* John, 86.
 Sumner, *Capt.* Job, 145.
 Supplies for the army, difficulty in furnishing, 95.
 Swansea, *R. I.*, 86.
 Swift, *Col.* Heman, 374, 375, 376. Appointed a member of the court martial for the trial of Gen. McDougall, 399, 400.

T.

Tallmadge, *Col.* Benjamin, notice of, 111n. Letters from, to William Heath, 111, 249, 271, 287, 309, 311. Letters to, from William Heath, 253, 277. Mentioned, 109, 186, 156, 238, 247, 259, 278.
 Tappen, *Dr.* Christopher, 24.
 Tarleton, *Col.* Banastre, 175, 176.
 Ten Broeck, *Gen.* Abraham, 122.
 Ternay, *Admiral* Charles L. d'Arsac de, 67, 69, 74, 87, 88, 99, 107.
 Thomas, *Col.* Thomas, 153, 156.
 Thompson, *Lieut.-Col.* Joseph, capture of, 30, 31, 33, 49.
 Throop, *Major* Benjamin, appointed a member of the court martial for the trial of Gen. McDougall, 400.
 Thurber, Benjamin, 96.
 Tisdale, *Capt.* James, 331, 379.
 Torbay, *British ship of the line*, 283.
 Tories, *British army* supplied by, 5.
 Totten, *Capt.* Gilbert, 337, 338.
 Townsend, *Dr.* David, 374.
 Trescott, *Col.* Lemuel, 288, 278, 309, 311.
 Troops on the Hudson River, arrangement of, in December, 1780, 137-139; in December, 1781, 320-322.
 Trumbull, Jonathan, *Gov. of Connecticut*, letters to, from William Heath, 196, 203, 213, 228, 286. Letters from, to William Heath, 214, 237, 254. Mentioned, 91, 93, 96, 198, 201, 223, 247, 260, 325.
 Trumbull, *frigate*, 66.
 Tryon, *Gen.* William, character of, 49.
 Tupper, *Col.* Benjamin, 121, 267, 269, 291, 292, 293, 342, 354.

V.

Vanalstin, *Major* —, 278.
 Van Alstine, *Capt.* —, 402.
 Van Schaick, *Col.* Gozen, 113, 114, 186.
 Vanvoost, *Lieut.* —, 13.
 Vanzandt, —, 301.

W.

Varick, Richard, notice of, 352n. Letter to, from William Heath, 352. Letter from, to William Heath, 355. Mentioned, 117, 349, 355, 357, 358, 359, 366.
 Varnum, *Gen.* James M., 98.
 Varnum, *Capt.* —, 53.
 Vaudreuil, Louis Philippe de Rigaud, *Marquis* de, 385.
 Vermille, *Capt.* —, 360.
 Vermont, 274, 281. Negotiations with the British government, 323.
 Viomenil, Antoine Charles de Houx, *Baron* de, 107, 109.
 Vose, *Lieut.-Col.* Elijah, 28. Appointed a member of the court martial for the trial of Gen. McDougall, 400.
 Wadsworth, *Gen.* Peleg, 65.
 Walker, John, *alias* Robert Naples, 191.
 Walker, *Capt.* —, 8.
 Wallace, James, *Attorney-General of England*, 371.
 Warner, *Gen.* Seth, 176.
 Warren, *Capt.* Benjamin, 4.
 Warren, *Mrs.* —, 127.
 Washington, *Gen.* George, letters to, from William Heath, 8, 10, 13, 17, 22, 27, 30, 36, 41, 59, 62, 64, 70, 71, 74, 75, 79, 80, 81, 82, 84, 87, 88, 91, 96, 101, 102, 104, 105, 107, 109, 113, 116, 125, 134, 137, 139, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 152, 153, 155, 156, 158, 159, 161, 162, 171, 173, 177, 178, 183, 184, 186, 187, 189, 190, 191, 192, 198, 201, 204, 210, 220, 223, 224, 233, 236, 239, 246, 275, 277, 280, 294, 323, 325, 327, 331, 332, 334, 335, 337, 340, 341, 343, 345, 348, 350, 353, 359, 364, 365, 367, 368, 371, 373, 375, 377, 381, 384, 386, 396; from Alexander McDougall, 363. Letters from, to William Heath, 78, 94, 392. Mentioned, 34, 38, 39, 69, 90, 93, 97, 98, 99, 112, 120, 123, 124, 133, 149, 150, 160, 196, 199, 203, 209, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 222, 223, 227, 233, 234, 248, 255, 256, 257, 258, 261, 283, 287, 289, 303, 305, 312, 352, 357, 358, 362, 391.
 Waterbury, *Gen.* David, 348.
 Watson, *Capt.* —, 30, 31, 33, 146.
 Wayne, *Gen.* Anthony, 151.
 Weare, *Hon.* Meshech, letters to, from William Heath, 199, 207, 256. Letter from, to William Heath, 258. Mentioned, 223.
 Webb, *Col.* Samuel B., 138. Appointed a member of the court martial for the trial of Gen. McDougall, in place of Col. Groaton, 401.
 Webb, *Col.* —, 231.
 Weeks, *Major* —, 25.
 Weeks, —, 120.
 Weissenfels, *Col.* Frederick, 114, 122, 123, 124, 125, 230, 231, 232, 239, 281.

- Wells, *Col.* Levi, 91.
 Wesson, *Col.* James, 4.
 West Point, scanty allowance of provisions at, 3, 4, 15, 17, 65, 117. Fire at, 8, 20, 21, 22, 27. Desertions at, 9. Friction at, between Gens. Heath and McDougall, 267 *et seq.*, 309, 315-318, 327, and *passim*.
 Whipple, *Capt.* Abraham, 75.
 Whiting, —, 22.
 Whitwell, *Dr.* Samuel, 369.
 Willett, *Col.* Marinus, 293, 296, 297, 321.
 William Henry, *Prince* (William IV. of England), 276.
 Williams, *Capt.* Abraham, 317, 319, 377.
 Williams, John, 80, 81.
 Williams, *Capt.* Joseph, 393*n*.
 Williams, *Dr.* Thomas, 393*n*.
 Williams, *Lieut.* Robert, 13.
 Williamsburg, *Va.*, 163.
 Winter of 1779-1780, severity of, 4, 5, 6, 7, 11.
 Wood, *Col.* —, 29.
 Worthington, *Col.* John, 389.
 Wurmb, *Lieut.-Col.* Ludwig J. A. von, 14, 247.
 Wyckoff, *Major* Hendrick, 330.

Y.

- Yorktown, *Va.*, siege of, 290. Surrender of, 294, 295.

